

Engd by W. Harrison

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FRASER & NEAVE

TRANSACTIONS

OF

The Literary and Antiquarian Society

OF

PERTH.

VOL. I.



PERTH:

PRINTED BY R. MORISON, FOR THE SOCIETY.

1827.

This correspondence is curious, not merely in a local point of view, but as recording the opinions of the learned Professors and Law Officers of that period, on a proposition of public interest, which was seriously entertained and was all but carried into effect. The retirement from office of the EARL of TULLIBARDINE at the time when the correspondence drops, seems to have been the only cause why there is not at present an University in Perth, rather than in St. Andrews. It is singular that a proposition of so great importance to Perth should have been wholly overlooked by our Chroniclers, while matters comparatively trifling have been so elaborately recorded.

It does not appear by whom the "History of Scottish Affairs by James Wilson" was presented, or how it came into the possession of the Society. That it is the Author's MS. there can be little doubt. Its elaborate execution (of which a specimen page is given) is that of an original, not of a copy, and its length adds to the probability of that supposition. On account of the space it would have occupied to the exclusion of other matter, it has been found necessary to print it on a smaller type than the rest of the volume.

Although the Author gives a brief summary of Scottish affairs prior to the reign of Charles I, his Chronicle is chiefly occupied by, and derives its principal value from, the minute account it gives of the troubles in Scotland under that reign and during the life of the narrator. It is rather an uncommon circumstance too, to find a writer of that period in a humble station—a burger of Dumfries—espousing the cause of the king.

To these Historical documents it was at one time intended to have added the "Buke of Fourscoire-thre Questions," by Ninian Wingate, of the original edition of which the Society has a copy; but having ascertained that it had been included in one of the Appendices to Keith, it was judged advisable to substitute for it the Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld by Alexander Myln. Although the Bannatyne Club had printed this work in Latin from the original manuscript, in their usual style of correctness and elegance, a translation was still desirable. The

manuscript from which the copy in this volume was printed appears to have been written about the beginning of the last century. Although the style is plain and some errors of translation have been committed, the writer must have lived in the neighbourhood of, and have been well acquainted with, the places described. On this account his translation is given *verbatim*. Some notes were prepared, containing references to the Latin edition in those places where he seems to have mistaken the meaning of the original. Of these however the prescribed limits of the volume would not admit. Besides, by delaying them in the meantime, an opportunity may be obtained of referring also to the Author's manuscript; and they, as well as some notes prepared to accompany Wilson's Chronicle, may with more propriety find a place in the transactions, after being submitted to a meeting of the Society.

That the observations on the "Gowry Conspiracy" should have been inserted without being subjected to *that* ordeal, requires explanation.

MR. FRANCIS GRANT having intimated the intention, which he has so handsomely fulfilled, of presenting the Society with an Engraving of GOWRY HOUSE for this volume—it was thought that some outlines of the plan of the house, and of its apartments, would prove an acceptable accompaniment to that view. In laying down these plans upon paper, and comparing them generally with the account of the memorable transactions which happened in the places they were intended to represent, some circumstances were noticed which led to a more minute examination of the evidence. The result of that examination is given in the paper above referred to. The advanced state of the printing allowed no time for applying for the sanction of the Society, which, if obtained, would have given the arguments a weight, to which at present they can have no pretensions. At the same time, it is perhaps better, even although an opportunity of consultation could have been obtained, that on such a subject the opinions of others should not in any way be compromised; and that the errors of opinion in that paper should, with those of the selection and transcription of the other divisions, rest with the editor alone.

The other divisions of the volume do not call for much prefatory notice.

The "Tears of Scotland," on the death of James the Sixth, bearing the signature of William Lithgow, carry every evidence of having been written by that most "painful" of travellers, and quaintest of poetasters. That James, while he lived, "lyksd, lovd, and read" the "prostrat lines" of Lithgow, is highly probable; for in none of the poetry of that period does there appear a profounder *prostration*, both of the mind and pen.

The MS. of the "Gift of Donald M'Donald, as a perpetual servant to the Earl of Tullibardine," was copied by Mr Murray of Kincairny, from a paper in the Charter Chest at Dunkeld. The circumstance of a person having been made a SLAVE, with all the symbols of slavery on his person, in this country, and in the eighteenth century, will surprise many.

The Pali Tablets, of which outlines are given, are fine specimens of the magnificence of the early Burman Literature. It is by the publication and comparison of such detached portions of the sacred books, that a key may be gained to the ancient languages of the East, and the progress of knowledge in the early ages of the world, correctly ascertained.

Notices of the Proceedings of the Society, and of the Papers read at the Meetings, with Lists of Office-bearers, Members, &c. have been prefixed to the volume: and subjoined are Catalogues of the Books, Coins, and other curiosities in the Museum. The first, from the state of the records at certain periods, are necessarily very brief, and the latter, from the same cause, and from the confusion in which most of them were found, are necessarily imperfect. The best has been done to give the lists of both as full as these circumstances, the shortness of the time, and the limited pages of the volume, would allow. If their publication tend to the increase of either, the labour will be amply repaid.

PERTH, September, 1837.

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Memoranda of the Transactions of the Society, with lists of the Papers read at the Meetings.

Lists of Office-bearers, Members, and Subscribers to this Work.

Copies of Papers relative to a Translation of the University of St. Andrews to Perth, in 1697—8.

Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld, by Alexander Myln.

The Teares of Scotland, by William Lithgow, with a fac simile of the original MS.

Summary of the evidence on the Gowrie Conspiracy with Plans of Gowrie House.

***.* The view of Gowry House accompanying this Volume was presented by FRANCIS GRANT, Esq. being drawn by Gibb, and engraved by Lizars, from a Sketch by the late DR. M'OMIE.**

List of the Lands and Baronies contained in the seizin of James, Master of Gowry.

Gift of Donald M'Donald, as a perpetual servant, to the Earl of Tullibardine, 1701.

Lithographic Copies and Descriptions of three Ivory Pali Tablets, with Inscriptions in massy gold, found in the Temple of Rangoon.

The History of Scottish Affairs, particularly during the reign of Charles I, by Mr James Wilson, Burgher of Dumfries. Begun the Calends of May, 1654. With a fac-simile of a page of the original MS.

The Museum. Catalogue of the Library.

- **Coins and Medals ***
- **Specimens of Natural History.**
- **Mineralogy.**
- **Antiques.**
- **Miscellaneous Curiosities.**

*** Some of the Coins and Medals are in glass cases but the greater part of them are contained in a Cabinet, which may be seen by an order from the Secretary.**

In another Cabinet is deposited a very elegant MULL splendidly mounted in silver; which was presented to the Society by the President the Right Honourable the EARL OF KINNOULL.

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MEMORANDA
OF
**THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE LITERARY AND ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY OF PERTH,**
AND OF
THE PAPERS READ AT THEIR MEETINGS.

THE formation of a Society for investigating the History and preserving the Antiquities and Records of Scotland generally, and more particularly of that portion of it of which the City of Perth may still be considered as the capital, was originally suggested, and carried into effect by Mr JAMES SCOTT, senior minister of Perth. At his request, a few gentlemen,* who thought favourably of the proposal, met together in a room adjoining the Perth Academy, on the 16th December, 1784, when a plan was laid before them by Mr Scott, which, although afterwards enlarged and modified, may still be considered the basis on which the proceedings of the society are conducted.

In the preliminary dissertation read on that occasion, Mr Scott, after pointing out the utility of such institutions, particularly exemplified in the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh, entered at some length into the advantages that might be expected to result from the establishment of an Antiquarian Society in Perth. He then submitted the plan above referred to for the regulation and government of the society, in their meetings and in their researches, and proposed that other gentlemen in Perth and the neighbourhood should be invited to join them.

The plan of the society no sooner became known, than it not only met with the support of those whose local situation naturally gave them an interest in the prosperity of the institution, but it received the approbation of the most eminent lite-

* The Rev. Mr Adam Peebles, Minister of the English Episcopal Chapel in Perth; the Rev. Mr John Duff, one of the Ministers of Perth; Mr James Drummond M'Gregor, Preacher of the Gospel; Mr Thomas Mitchel, Writer in Perth; Mr Robert Mercer, Writer there; Mr John M'Orrie, one of the Masters of the Academy, and Mr John Gillies, Bookseller.

rary and scientific men of the day. Many of these distinguished individuals* wrote to the society, expressing their approbation and their wish to co-operate in their views, while others came from a considerable distance to attend the meetings. On this account it was soon found advisable to extend the plan. The communications were no longer to be confined to subjects of antiquarian research or historical enquiry, and the name adopted was "The Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth."

It appears that the first paper read to the Society was

An account of St. Dominick and the Friars of his order, by Mr Scott.

The second was by the same gentleman, being

An account of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the Acts of the Diocesan Synod at St. Andrews, 1662, transcribed from the records of the Presbytery of Perth.

About the same period there were presented by Mr Richard Davidson, (whose name appears frequently as a benefactor to the society).

A MS. copy of the history of the noble family of Drummond, written originally by the first Lord Strathallan.†

At the same time Mr Gillies, Bookseller in Perth, who appears to have been a most liberal contributor, presented the society with

A MS. history of the Parish of Monivaird, written by Mr Porteous, Minister of the parish.

The meetings at this time (1785) were so frequent, and the business of the society was entered into so heartily, that within the space of a few months, the greater part of the following MSS. were presented, and papers read.

A Discourse on Celtic Weapons, by the Rev. J. Dowe, Methven.

Antiquities of the House of Aldie, written in 1698, by Mr Mercer of Aberdeen, with some remarks by Mr Scott.

An account of the origin of the name of Dunipace, by Sir James Fowlis.

The traditional account of the Gowry Conspiracy, by Rev. Mr Duff, Tibermore, (published, with consent of the society, in Mr Morison's Memorabilia of Perth).

Dissertation on the Antient Beverage of the Caledonians, by Sir James Fowlis.

* Among others may be noticed Count Andreani, Colonel Vallancy, M. Faujas, Sir William Jones, Sir James Fowlis, Lord Hailes, Earl of Buchan, Richard Gough, Esq. Mr Cordiner, Mr Grose, Mr Calender of Craigforth, Dr. Gilbert Stuart, Dr. Whitaker, Dr Gillies.

† This MS. along with others belonging to the Society, was unfortunately among Mr Scott's papers at the time of his death, and sold along with them. It was purchased by the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh.

- Copy of the 2d part of Colvil's Scots Hudibras, in the author's own hand writing. Presented by Mr Cant.
- Account of the origin of the Scots, by Sir James Fowlis.
- Some Antient Charters, with notes and illustrations, by Mr Scott.
- The analogy between the Hebrew and Gaelic Languages, by Mr Duncan Mac-Gregor.
- Remarks respecting the names Hebrides and Abudæ, and the word "Murray," both as a local name and a family surname, by Sir James Fowlis.
- Two Charters of William and Alexander III. of Scotland, with remarks by Sir James Fowlis.
- Discourse on the Natural History of the World, and of Man, by the Earl of Buchan.*
- Three Gaelic Poems, with a literal translation, from Mr M'Diarmid, Comrie.
- Copy of the Gift of Donald M'Donald, as a perpetual servant to the Earl of Tullibardine, from Mr Murray of Kincairny.
- Forty Charters and other Parchments, from Mr Gillies.
- Duplicates of Charters respecting the privileges of the Burgh of Abernethy, from Mr Gillies.
- Papers concerning the Tiends of the Bishops of Dunkeld, from Mr Gillies.
- Account of the Trial of three Witches, taken from the Session Records of Perth, 1623, by Mr Scott.
- Manuscript copy of Moyse's Memoirs of Scotland, attested by Bishop Keith, from Rev. Mr Aikman.
- Prices of victual at Perth, from 1525 to 1685, by Mr Scott.
- Account of Dunsinnane Hill and places in the neighbourhood, by Dr Drummond.
- Copies of the two Bonds of Association of Sir John Murray of Tullibardine and others, dated July 12, 1586, and March 3, 1598; also a list of the descendants of Henry Murray, gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles I, supposed to have been written about 1750. Transcribed from the originals in the Charter-room of the Duke of Atholl, at Dunkeld, and presented by Mr Murray of Kincairny.
- MS. copy of an account of the Isle of Mann, from Mr Gillies.

* This was read by his Lordship at the meeting 14th June, 1785, where he presided. With that meeting he left a donation of Five Pounds, to be applied to the purposes of the Society.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE LITERARY AND

- Historical Anecdote of the Synod of Perth and Stirling, 1652, read by Mr. Scott, to correct misrepresentations of Whitelock.
- Description of Dryburgh Abbey, by the Earl of Buchan.
- Plan and description of the Roman Camp at Dalginross, from a young gentleman residing in its neighbourhood.
- Letter from Dr Whitaker, giving his opinion respecting the disputed battle of Agricola.
- Charge to Archibald, Marquis of Argyle, by Richard Lord Protector, October 20, 1658, from Mr Jervie.
- Scheme of communication between the various learned Societies of Europe, by Lord Buchan.
- Mr Ramsay's (of Ochtertyre) address to the friends of Dr. Samuel Johnson.
- Copies of a grant by Charles I. of the Abbey of Arbroath to the family of South Esk, in 1641—Grant of the town of Perth to the family of Moncrieff, of an exemption from payment of certain duties to the Bridge of Erne, 1606, and a discharge from the Earls of Balcarras to the Earls of Crawford concerning a lady's dowrie, 1679—from Mr Jervie.
- Letter from Dr. Drummond, giving an account of Agricola's course along the Grampians.
- The original manuscript of the Teares of Scotland; a Poem by Wm. Lithgow, the famous traveller—from Dr. Drummond.
- Table containing the Fairs Prices of Victual from 1630 to 1786, in the shire of Perth—from Mr Paton.
- List of the lands and baronies in the seizin of James, Master of Gowrie, dated April 11, 1584—from Mr Dowe, Methven.
- Letter from Mr M'Lagan, minister of Blair Athol, giving an account of that Parish.
- Copy of a Letter dated at Edinburgh, Aug. 12, 1560, and addressed to the Lairds of Arntully and Kinvaid, concerning the demolition of the Romish Images in the Cathedral Church at Dunkeld—from Mr Murray, Kincairny.
- Latin Elegy, with an English translation, on the death of Mr Coldstream at Dunblane—by Mr Ramsay of Ochtertyre.
- Agreement between John Lord Erskine, Lady Napier, and others, in 1648—from Mr Jervie.
- Account of the Isle of Loch Tay, and of the ebbing and flowing of Loch Tay, 12th September, 1784; and a paper containing the height of several Hills in Scotland, taken barometrically—from Mr Campbell of Achallader.

MS. of several Irish Ballads—from Mr Young, Trinity College, Dublin.

Vindication of the primitive Christian Writers, from the imputations of Rousseau and Gibbon—by Mr Christie, Montrose.

Not more than two years had at this period elapsed from the institution of the society. Trifling as the annual subscription then was, *and has always continued to be*, (10s. per annum,) the funds had begun to accumulate, and the purchase of several books was determined on, as the commencement of a library. At this time also they were strengthened by a remittance of £12 from Mr M'Donald of the Bengal Artillery.

Among the manuscripts read and presented about this period were ;

Remarks on the Gaelic Poems of Louchan Leohar, by William Ritchie, farmer in Glenalmond.

Remarks on the names of Fingal, Comhal, and Ossian, by Sir James Foulis.
Genealogical and Historical Memoirs of the Sirname of Duff by the Rev. Mr Duff, Tibermuir.

Remarks on the Cry of the Wild Bull in the Forest, by Sir James Foulis.

Account of the life of Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, by Mr Scott.

Account of some Antiquities in the counties of Kincardine & Forfar, by Mr Peat.

Account of some Roman Stations, by Captain Shand, R. A.

List of the Subscribers to the Darien Expedition, from Mr Scott.

Account of the Royal House of Stewart, by Mr Peebles.

Account of Strathmore, by Mr Alison of Newhall.

Memoir on the ancient Superstitious Coustoms in the Town of Perth, by Mr Scott.

Translation from a Gaelic Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, to Malcolm Canmore, from Dr Donald Smith, Crieff.

Account of the Parish of Fortingall, by Mr M'Ara, Minister.

Dissertation on the Gowry Conspiracy, by Mr Morison, Bookseller.

Letters from Mr Erskine, of Alva, with descriptions of Seals, of which impressions were given to the Society.

Transcript of the First Charter granted to the Town of Perth, by William the Lion, 1210, with a Translation and Remarks, by Mr Scott.

Account of the Parish of Monzievairst, and Ströwan, by Mr Porteous.

Excerpts from the last Will and Testament of the Hon. Dr. Arch. Campbell, of the family of Argyle, by Mr Scott.

Manuscript Roll of the Scots Parliament, 1681. Indictment, and Proclama-

tion against the Earl of Argyle, and his defence, Copy of the Test Act, and Papers respecting it, from Mr Murray of Murrayshall.

Account of the Life of Blind Harry, by Mr Scott.

At the Meeting 15th June, 1790, when Mr Scott read the preceding paper, he was requested to sit for his portrait, which was painted by Mr Thomson for the Society, and deposited soon afterwards in the hall. Between that period and June 1792, there were read, or presented,

An Account of remarkable persons who had attended Sir William Wallace, by Mr Scott.

Genealogical Account of the family of Lude, by Captain William Robertson, younger of Lude.

Account of the Parish of Arngask, by the Rev. Mr Lang.

A MS. Copy of Hope's Minor Practicks, from Mr Aikman.

Account of the Parish of Forgandenny, by Mr Robert Thomas.

Old Latin MS. containing dissertations on Logic, &c., from Mr Macfarlane.

List of Marriages and Births in Perth, from January, 1784, to January, 1790, from Mr Miller.

Account of the Parish of Rhynd, by the Rev. Mr Taylor.

Glossary of the Scots Language by Lord Hailes.

Copy of an Instrument and Protest of Sir Alexander Murray of Abercairney, as being repledged on the law of the Clan of M'Duff, December, 7th 1391, by Mr Campbell of Achallader.

Chronicle by John Mercer, Clerk of the Town of Perth, containing chiefly remarkable occurrences in Perth. Read at various times by Mr Scott, with remarks and explanations.

MS. Dissertation in Latin on one of Hippocrates' Aphorisms, by Dr. Smith.

Account of the Parish of St. Madoes, by the Rev. Mr Black.

From the 24th April, 1792, to the 20th July, 1802, there is not a single entry in the minute book of the society. Whether there were any meetings held during these ten years is doubtful. The society had not then obtained a seal of cause, authorising them to act as a corporate body, and in the troubled state of the political world in 1792, and for some years after, they might not have found it convenient to call the members together. There was another circumstance which must have then contributed to give a check to the proceedings of the society. Dr. John M'Omie, one of the teachers in the academy, who had acted as secretary from the commencement of the society, and who spared no personal trouble in the execution of his

duties, left Perth at that time for Inverness, where he resided for upwards of twelve years. Upon his return in 1805 the society re-elected him to the secretaryship, the duties of which he continued to fulfil with ceaseless assiduity until his death, in 1819.

It does not appear to whose care the library and museum had been committed during Dr. M'Omie's absence, but in 1802 when the record is resumed, Mr (now Professor) Wallace, and the Rev. A. Walker, Episcopal Clergyman, were joint secretaries. At that period Mr Scott and Mr Peebles were vice-presidents, the office of president being merely honorary and conferred nominally on several noblemen. But at the meeting in September, 1802, it was agreed that in future there should only be one president, a nobleman connected with the county of Perth. The EARL of KINNOULL was at that time chosen. That public spirited nobleman, whose state of health, as appears from his letters to the secretary, alone prevented his taking a more active part in the proceedings of the society, died in 1804. In his room the EARL of MANSFIELD was elected president, and in 1806 his Lordship was succeeded by the present EARL of KINNOULL, who has continued to be the respected president of the meetings and the steady and munificent patron of all the undertakings of the society.

Soon after the EARL of KINNOULL became the president of the society, a charter or seal of cause was obtained from the Magistrates.

About this period the reading of the following manuscripts and papers is recorded.

- Ode to Philosophy, by Mr Scott.
- Explanations of various Seals by Mr Scott.
- Sketches of Antiquities and Local Scenery of Fortingal, by the Rev. Mr Irvine.
- Translation of the Foundation Charter of the Abbey of Scone, by Mr Scott.
- Remarks on a mutilated inscription in the court house of Stirling, by Lie ut. Colonel Hamilton.
- Account of the Gilten Herbar, or King's garden in Perth, by Mr Scott.
- Essay on Classical Literature, by Mr (now Professor) Walker.
- Thoughts on the disclosures of Processes of Manufactures, by Mr Clennel.
- Thoughts on the advantages resulting from the establishment of a friendly intercourse amongst Literary Institutions, by Mr Clennel.
- Account of the Camp at Dalginross by Mr M'Diarmid, minister of Comrie, with a Plan of it by Mr George M'Farlane, Surveyor, Comrie.
- Remarks on the Camp at Dalginross, by Mr Rutherford.
- Remarks on Dr. Garnet's account of Berigonium, by Mr Rutherford.
- Extracts from the Crawfordland Papers, by Mr Scott.

Description of a Seal, (with an impression), found in Gowrie House, from Mr William Ramsay.

Remarks on the study of Antiquities and Antiquarian Research, by Dr. Irvine.

Letter accompanying a Stone Cup found in parts of the lands of Glencarse which had formerly belonged to the Abbey lands of Scone, from Mr Hunter of Glencarse.

Essay on the Military Character and Patriotism of the Ancient Scots, by Dr. Irvine.

Receipt and Obligation by the Earl of Mar to Sir Laurence Mercer, and Protection for Sir Laurence Mercer, from the Earl of Mar, from Mr Patrick Thomson.

Essay on the distinction between Pride and Vanity, by Mr Walker.

Letter to Mr Scott, from J. G. Estcourt, Esq. M. P. respecting a monument of the Queen of James I, with Mr Scott's reply.

Account of Cowper Bishop of Galloway, by Mr Scott.

Account of Mr John Douglass, one of the early Scots Reformers, by Mr Scott.

Essay on the nature and varieties of Genius, by Mr Walker.

Essay on the Infelicities of Men of Genius, by Mr Walker.

Untill 1818 the manuscripts, books, and other property belonging to the society were kept in a closet adjoining the Perth Public Library. They were then removed to an apartment in the same building; and in 1819 when proper cases were fitted up for their preservation, the donations, as will be seen from the Catalogue of the articles in the museum annexed to this volume, increased rapidly in number and in value. Unfortunately, it was so long until these depositories were procured, (the room being frequently occupied as a class-room) that many of the donations and manuscripts presented prior to 1819 have been lost.

The Minutes of the Transactions at this time make mention of the following communications.

A copy by Captain Peebles of an inscription on a marble Column near Thebes, with a Translation by Mr Scott.

Essay on the Character of Sir William Wallace, by Dr. Irvine.

An Account of Gowrie House, by Mr Scott.

An Account of Lady Beatrix Ruthven, daughter of William 1st Earl of Gowrie, by Mr Scott.

Account of the Early Reformation from Popery, in the City of Perth by Mr Scott.

- Essay on the Life and Character of Robert the Bruce, by Dr. Irvine.
- Account of various papers on the subject of the Gowry Conspiracy.
- Essay on the origin and progress of the Arts, by the Rev. James Esdaile.
- Essay on the Decomposition of Water by the Galvanic Battery, by Mr Anderson.
- The first Chapter of the Life of John Earl of Gowry, by Mr Scott.
- Remarks on the History of James the Sext, commonly called the Crawford MS. by Mr Walker.
- Essay on the Vitrified Forts in Scotland, by the Rev. Mr Headrick of Dunning.
- MS. copy of Scott of Scots-starvets staggering state of the Scots Statesmen—
from Mr Clyde.
- Essay on the present state of English Poetry, by Mr Walker.
- Description of a Roman inscription on a stone at Fortingal, by Dr. Irvine.
- Dissertation on the Colonization of Scotland, by Dr. Irvine.
- Abstract of the Receipts and Issues of the Revenue from 1709 to 1810—
account of Guards and Garrisons from 1702 to 1709, and Army and Navy
Grants from 1688 to 1702—from Mr Carfrae.
- Essay on the Progress of Liberty in Scotland, from the accession of Robert II.
to the death of James I, by Dr. Irvine.
- Essay on Metaphorical Language, by the Rev. James Esdaile.
- Account of Remains of Antiquity near Moulin, by the Rev. Mr Duff.
- Letter of Slains of remit for the slaughter of John Stewart 1620, from Chas.
Stewart, Esq. Dalguise.
- Outline of the Progress of Liberty in Scotland from the death of James I to
the reign of Mary and James VI, by Dr. Irvine.
- Essay on origin of our Knowledge, by the Rev. James Esdaile.
- General view of various Hygrometric Researches, by Mr Anderson.
- Copies of Papers relative to a projected Translation of the University of St.
Andrews to Perth in the years 1697 and 1698—from the Rev. Dr Lee.
- Introduction to an Essay on the foundation of Morals, by Mr Esdaile.
- Concluding part of Outlines of the Progress of Liberty in Scotland from James
VI, to the Revolution, by Dr. Irvine.

At the anniversary meeting in 1818, the society put upon record the sentiments of high esteem and respect which they had ever entertained for the founder of the society, and one of its most active and useful members, the Rev. James Scott, who died that year. It is remarkable that this was the last minute written by Mr Scott's

constant friend and coadjutor in all his labours, Dr. M'Omie, to whose memory the present Secretary had a similar tribute to pay in the minute of the Anniversary meeting in 1819.

About this period the following Essays were read,

On the Druidical Remains in the neighbourhood of the Carse of Gowrie, by Mr Archibald Gorrie.

Dissertation on the manners of the Romans, and the progress of Luxury among them, by Mr Esdaile.

Account of a simple method of calculating the allowance to be made for the dip of the horizon, by Mr Anderson.

Dissertation on the Pound Troy, by Mr Anderson.

Extract from Notes on the Ancient History of Perth, by Mr Esdaile.

On the quantity of Water discharged by the Tay in July 1821, by Mr Anderson.

On the influence which the Hygrometric condition of the air exerts over the minimum temperature of the night, by Mr Anderson.

Continuation of Essays on the early History of Scotland, by Dr. Irvine.

Disquisition on the Gowry Conspiracy, by the Rev. Mr M'Gregor Stirling.

On the facilities presented in the County of Perth for the improvement of the department of Natural History in the museum of the society; by the Secretary. (Ordered to be printed and circulated among the members).

A most important change was now (1822) about to take place in the affairs of the society. The subscribers to a monument, proposed to be erected to the memory of a public spirited magistrate, and an active and zealous member of the society, THOMAS HAY MARSHALL, Esq. of Glenalmond—offered to construct that building so as to contain halls for the Public Library of the city, and the Museum of the Literary and Antiquarian Society, provided the two institutions could raise funds for fitting up the interior of their respective halls. This offer, so honourable to its proposers, was accepted, and subscriptions commenced without delay. The subscription paper of the society was opened with fifty guineas from the noble President—an example which was most liberally followed by many of the members; and, on the 2d June, 1824, the Society met, for the first time, in their new hall.* The best criterion of the public estimation of that hall, as a museum for the reception of natural curiosities, antiquities, and works of art, is the list of donations accom-

* It was reared and fitted up, according to the plans and under the superintendence of the Secretary, who, at a subsequent meeting, was presented with a handsome service of Silver Plate, by the EARL OF KINNOULL, in the name of his Lordship as President, and the Members of the Society.

panying this volume. Of the liberality of its foundation, upwards of four thousand visitors,* within little more than two years, have had opportunity of judging.

Since the Society met in their new hall, the following communications have been made :

A Letter from Dr. Irvine, enclosing an interesting communication from Lord Charles Murray, dated Gastouni, in the Morea, accompanied by a treatise in modern Greek, written by a young Greek, and printed at Scio. (The lamented death of Lord Charles Murray, and of Dr. Irvine soon afterwards, prevented other communications promised in these letters.)

Facts illustrative of the History of the Deluge, by Mr Esdaile.

Essay on the state of knowledge in Europe during the middle ages, by Mr Esdaile.

Essay illustrative of several important facts connected with the manufacture of Coal Gas, by Mr Anderson.

Plan for improving the city of Perth, by a crescent fronting the river between the County Buildings and the east end of the High Street. Drawn by a young gentleman at Oxford.

Letter from John Mackenzie, Esq. Calcutta, accompanying three large ivory leaves with writing on them, in massy gold, in the ancient Pali Language, found in the temple at Rangoon.

Essay on the Study of Language as the means of elucidating History, by Mr Esdaile.

Disquisition on the Weight of the Lanark Stone, by Mr Anderson.

Essay on the Origin of Idolatry and Astrology, with elucidations of the Pagan Superstitions drawn from Hieroglyphics and the Metaphorical construction of the Eastern Languages, by Mr Morison, Junr.

* A person is appointed by the Society to attend at the museum an hour every day, for the purpose of shewing it gratuitously to strangers.

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COPIES OF PAPERS
RELATIVE TO A PROJECTED TRANSLATION
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS TO THE CITY OF PERTH,
In the years 1697 and 1698.

TRANSLATION
OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS TO PERTH.

Minutes of University.

St. ANDREWS, 1697, August 16, The which day the Universitie met, and takeing to their consideration, the great losse the Universitie hath sustained for some years past, through the want of a Chancellour; and after matuer deliberation, the samine being a considerable time agoe recommended to the serious thoughts of the severall Masters, putting it to the vote, who might be the fittest person for that office: the Universitie considering the personal merit of the Right Honourable JOHN, EARL of TULLIBARDINE, as also remembering the many favours conferred on the Universitie, both by himself and his noble Progenitors, and likewayes the eminency of his present post, and the interest he hath, both with his Majestie and those in authority under him, doe therefore, unanimously by vote, nominate and elect the said JOHN, EARL of TULLIBARDINE Chancellour of the said Universitie, and have subscribed ane Diploma, in ample form, for his (Lordship's) enjoying the said office, and have caused the Publick Seal of the Universitie to be thereto appended. The Universitie considering, that the said Earl of Tullibardine is for present at Huntingtower, doe therefore commissionate the Provost of the old College, Mr JOHN CRAIGIE, and Mr JOHN LOWDOWN, to repair thither, with all possible speed, and to take journey thither this day, and in the name of the Universitie, to make offer of the said Diploma to the Earl, with all the solemnities and conditions requisite.

Act of the Universitie, empowering Mr Alexander Monro to go to Edinburgh to wait upon Earl of Tullibardine.

ST. ANDREWS, 24th Agust, 1697.

The which day the Universitie being mett, they do commissionat Mr ALEXANDER MONRO, Provost of the Old College, to goe to Edinburgh and wait upon the Earl of Tullibardine, to concert further anent the affairs of the Universitie, and particularly anent ane proposall for transporting this Universitie to the Town of Perth, and to

consult lawyers and others thereanent : and for defraying the expenses of the said affair, impowers the said Provost to receive from Mr JOHN SIM, or any other having the new College Rents, or any part thereof in their hands, so much money as shall be needful, and to imploy the same to that intent. Extracted out of the Records of the Universitie, by

WILL. VILANT, *Senat. Acad. Cl. Dep.*

Interrogators anent the King's power towards a Translation.

HENRY WARDLAW, Bishop of St. Andrews, by his Charter dated the penult day of February, 1411, did institut and found the University of St. Andrews, and adorned the same with many ample privileges and immunities, as the said Charter at length bears. All which were soon after, viz. in the month of September 1411, confirmed by Pope Benedict the 13th, conform to his Charter of Confirmation made there anent : and which confirmation makes mention of the Pope's former Bull appointing and allowing at the instance and request of the King, of the Bishop, Prior, Archdeacon and Chapter, that in the Citie of St. Andrews there should be an University founded.

Thereafter his Majestie K. J. I. did not only, by his Charter dated the 20th day of March, 1432, take the said University and whole Members thereof under his own peace, defence, protection, and maintainance, and excemed them from all tributs, burdens, customs, impositions, and exactions whatsoever, and from all watchings, wardings, services, &c ; but also by his Charter of Confirmation dated the last day of the said moneth of March, 1432, confirm and ratify the foresaid Charter made by the Bishop, the erection and institution of the University, and hail privileges, granted thereto. Lykas the said foundation and privileges and whole Charters and Rights thereof aforesaid, are confirmed by all the Kings and Queenes, from the said K. J. I., downward to this present King.

Further this University now comprehends chiefly three Colleges which were founded after the foundation of the University itselfe, the first commonly called St. Salvator's, (or the old), College, founded by Bishop Kennedy, first in the year 1450, but the foundation was some what altered since, reformed by the Bishop himself in the year 1458, conform to his Charter confirmed by Pope Pius the 2d., and containing many excellent privileges, exceming also them from all ordinary Jurisdiction and from tributs, customs, exactions, &c., and annexing rents and revenues for sustaining and maintaining thereof.

Item in the yeare 1512 St. Leonard's College was erected by Prior Hepburn,

and intituled Collegium Pauperum. The Prior doted to it considerable Lands and Rents which they enjoy to this day, conform to two Charters, the one granted by ALEXANDER, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the said Prior in August, 1512, the oither by the said Prior himselfe the first of Febrÿ, and both confirmed by King JAMES by his Charter under the great Seal the 23 of Febrÿ, foresaid 1512.

Item. BISHOP BETHUN, erected the third, viz; St. Maries or the New Colledge, of the said University, to which are annexed the Parish Churches of Tannades, Inohbrok, and Tynningham with the Fruits, Teiths, and Rights thereof. This erection was in the yeare, 1553.

Nota. That there were several alterations made in these foundations since the first Institution; viz; when any places became vaccant in any of these Colleges, particularlie in St. Salvators, or St. Leonards, by the first foundations they were to be filled by the choice and admission of the other Masters of that Colledge in being, and now the principal Masters of all the three Colleges are presented by the King.

2d. The new Colledge was first erected for Law, Medicine, and Philosophy, and now it is appointed solely for teaching Divinity.

3d. In the yeare 1579, there was almost a totall change made of the whole foundations by Persons commissionated by the King and Parliament, but in the yeare 1621 the University and whole particular Colleges thereof were appointed to be restored to their first foundations except the said new Colledge which was to continue only for the teaching of Divinity.

True Copies of the Letters sent by the King's Advocat and Solicitor and Commissar Dalrymple, to the Earl of Tullibardine, touching the removing the University of St. Andrews to another place, September, 1697.

SIR. PATRICK HUME, TO EARL OF TULLIBARDINE.

Edinburgh, 3d September, 1697.

MY LORD,—This day I met with the Lord Advocat, concerning the affair of the University of St. Andrews, and we considered the foundations of the severall Colledges and all the Papers relating thereto, and we are both of opinion that there is nothing in the foundations nor in Law to hinder but that if the King think fit, the University may be translated from St. Andrews and settled in another place, where it may be most convenient for the Publick interest of the Nation; and that the King may do it by a Charter under the Great Seal: but the thing being new and a matter of great weight, we apprehend, (your Lordship's), the Secretaries, would not take the burden of advising the King to it solely upon yourselves, nor

may be would the King be so fain to do it before that he have some opinion, from this, that in Law it might be done. And in order thereto that which we have advised is, that there should be reasons drawn for clearing that in Law the University may be translated to another place, and that it is most fit and convenient and for the interest of the Nation that it should be settled in Perth. The reasons of conveniencie and advantage to the Nation, which occur to us at present, are that St. Andrews is a remote point of Land lying at an outside, and all things for the conveniencie of living are dearer there than at oither places, and upon these and other considerations of that nature, the University is of late years exceedingly decayed; whereas the Towne of Perth is very near the centre of the Kingdom, and all necessars for the conveniencie of living are as cheap there as any place of the Nation, and being in an In-Country, People has fargreater conveniencie of sending their Children there to be bred than to a remote place, such as St. Andrews is; as also Perth being near to the Highlands, when the Gentlemen and others of the Highlands may have a greater conveniencie to send their Children, it may tend much to the civilizing of the Highland Countrey that this University be settled in that place: and besides it is most convenient that Universities in any Nation should be settled at an equall distance one from another, and as Edinburgh is at an equal distance from Glasgow, so the University that is at St. Andrews should be at an equall distance from Edinburgh, and certainly one of the reasons why that University is so much decayed is because it is too near Edinburgh, but being settled at Perth it would be at an equall distance from Edinburgh, and Aberdeen would be at an equall distance from Perth. And this is only but a short hint of the reasons for your Lordship's information at pnt; but they shall be more fully sent up to your Lordship afterwards, and they may be given in with a Petition to the King, upon which his Majestie may write a Letter to the Counsell that they may take the advice of the Officers of State, and such Lawiers and others, as the King shall name in the Letter, both how far in Law the College may be translated to anoyther place, and if it be not convenient and for the interest of the Nation it should be settled in Perth. And if these whose opinion the King desires shall give it in the affirmative, then the King may give a Charter, under the great Seal, for the doing of it accordingly, which thereafter may be confirmed in Parlt. The Lord Advocate is to write to the Lord Secretary Ogilby to the same purpose that he may go along in the thing, and I was desired by Provost MONRO to give your Lordship this account. I am,—My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and Obliged humble servant,

(Sic. Sub.) PATRICK HOME.

Directed, For the Right Hon. the EARL OF TULLIBARDINE, Principal Secretary of State for the KINGDOM of SCOTLAND, at Lond.

Followes a Copie of the King's Advocat Sir James Stuart his Letter of this Tenor.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

The Masters of the University of St. Andrews appear desirous to have the University to a place more commodious, and thereupon did propone to Commissary DALRYMPLE, Sir PATRICK HOME, and Me, if this might be done, and in what manner, and after having seen the foundation of the University, with the Confirmations and Ratifications that have ensued upon it by Popes, Kings and Parliaments, as also the foundations of the particular Colleges, we could not observe that the City of St. Andrews had any interest in this matter, to make their consent at all needful, but for any thing seen, or that we could learn, we were all inclined to think that the King being now come in place of the Bishop, and being, since the Reformation from Popery, Patronus Universalis of this Church, might remove the University upon a due application, made to him by the Faculty and Members thereof when he pleased; and that this might be done by a Charter under the great Seale, if once the conveniencie or inconveniencie of the thing were determined. For as to the interest of any particular benefactor, such as the EARL OF CASSILS, is said to be, to the old College, that will be easily adjusted. We thought indeed that this translation would appear a novelty and that more solemn advice might be judged necessary, but that the first step was how the matter might be relished above, and therefore it was left upon Sir PATRICK to acquaint your Lordship with the reasons that may persuad the King, and what method may thereafter be followed. But as to his Majesties power your Lordship hath my humble opinion.—I am,—My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and most

Obedient Servant,

JA. STEWART.

Edinburgh, 4 September, (97.)

Directed upon the back, thus, For
the EARLE OF TULLIBARDINE,
Principal Secretary of State.
Humbly these.

A Copie of Commissary Dalrymple's Letter, thus,

Northberrick, 8 Sept. 97.

MY LORD,

Your Lordship has the opinions of the King's Advocate and Solicitor touching the removing the University of St. Andrews to Perth, to

which I agree, but, having had the opportunity to see their Letters, I observe, they both point at a more solemn advice of Lawiers to be given; and the Solicitor proposes the same to be required by the Privie Counsell which may afford many difficulties, for by that meanes the Counsell being a Judicatory the Toun of St. Andrews or any who have interest or inclination to oppose it may apply, and the determination depending as much upon expedience as Law, the result might resolve into an Intrigue. Besides the testimony of the Kings Law'ers would be of the less value that their opinions were previously given to the Masters of the University, therefore it would seem more easy that upon the Masters application to the King, his Majestie should appoint the Secretaries to require the opinion of the King's Law'ers anent the Legality of the thing, and the method to do it. If it be found agreeable to Law, the King himself, upon the information of the Secretaries, may very well judge upon the conveniency or inconveniencie of the Translation, and unless it were thought fit to be done, it were to no purpose so much as to enquire whether it be lawful or not. I have advised that the Advocate and Solicitors writing to your Lordship on that subject, be not taken notice of by the Masters lest their solemn Opinion to be given be lesse authentic. In all this I presume to write to your Lordship in much freedom and in friendship more than as a Law'er,—I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and most faithful Servant,
HEW DALRYMPLE.

A Copie of my own Letter thus,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship has herewith sent you the Opinions of the Kings Advocat and Solicitor and also of the Commissary Dalrymple, severally under their hands, touching the Translation of the University of St. Andrews to Perth, all of them unanimously agreeing that the thing is consistent both with the foundations and Law, and also that of right the King can do it. They were not together all when they wrote, and tho the Commissary doth vary somewhat from the other two, yet that being only in their proposals to the method and manner of management, all of them aiming at what they think most proper and publick to presuad and carry on the design with best sureness, I doubt not but at their first meeting they will soon agree. For myselfe I think it imports not whether the expedience of the thing, or the point of Law, (which appears to be the chief part of the difference), be first ordered to be enquired into, since both will be requisite to satisfy the King, and I

shall wish there be no need to give the Counsell any trouble about it. That this matter may meet with the less difficulty, it will be necessary the new College have some Principal Master to concur and consent for that Society, that the Earl of Cassils, who is Patron of the profession of Humanity in the old Colledge, be spoke to, or his consent sought, and his Lordship assured that the change shall be without prejudice of his interest; and it were fit other friends be made, all which must be done before any application be attempted. Besides that matters must be adjusted betwixt the Toun of Perth and us, which might be the easier done if your Lordship would be pleased to write to them to that effect. The Kings Advocate has already writ to Secretary Ogilvy, and I shall be always ready to take and follow advice especially from your Lordship, who am—My Lord,

Your most faithfull and most humble Servant,

(Sic Sub.) AL. MONRO.

Directed upon the back, For the EARL
of TULLIBARDINE, Principal Sec-
retary of State, for the KINGDOM
of SCOTLAND.

Ane account of the Removall of the University of Oxfoord, once to Northampton, and another time to Stamford,—by Mr Jo. Craigie.

To

The Reverend Mr Alexr. Monro, Provost of the old Colledge in the University of St. Andrew, to be found at George Dennet's, at the back of the Court of Guard, in Edinburgh.

About the year 1260, there hapning great discords betwixt the University and City of Oxfoord and tumults and fighting following, the account of which are to be found in a book sett out by order of the said University called *Historia & Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*; upon the 1st of Feb. there is a liberty given for the Masters and Students of that University to sett up at Northampton.

And that they might be the more bountifully entertained, K. Edward, 1st. wrote to the Major and Bailies of Northampton, thus,

Rex dilectis & fidelibus suis Majori & Ballivis & caeteris probis hominibus suis de Northampton salutem; cum quidam Magistri & alii scholares proponant in municipio vestro morari ad scholasticam disciplinam ibidem exercendam (ut accipimus) nos cultum divinum & regni nostri utilitatem majorem ex hoc attendentes adventum prædictorum Scholarium et moram suam ibidem acceptamus. Volentes & concedentes quod prædicti scholares in municipio prædicto sub nostra protectione & defensione salvo & secure morentur, & ibidem exercent & faciant ea quae ad hujus-

modi scholares pertinent. Et ideo vobis mandamus firmiter præcipientes quod ipsos scholares quum ad vos venerint commoraturi in municipio prædicto, recommendatos habentes, ipsos curiabiter recipiatis, & prout statum decet scholasticum tractatis non inferentes eis & inferri permittentes, impedimentum, molestiam, aut gravamen. In cujus rei testimonium &c.

SUBSCRIPTIO.

Et mandatum est universis magistris & aliis scholaribus venturis ad municipium prædictum, quod Rex adventum ipsorum in municipium prædictum, ad scholasticam disciplinam ibidem exercendam affectat: & Rex vult et concedit quod sub sua protectione & defectione salvo & secure morentur in municipio prædicto & ibidem exerceant & faciant quae ad ipsos pertinent.

Upon this all went to Northampton and continued there until 1264; when the King fighting against the Noblemen, the University joined against him, who, when he had defeated both, emitted this,

Rex Majori & Civibus Northamptoniae salutem; cum occasione cujusdam magnae contentions triennis jam elapso subortae, nonnulli Clericorum tum ibidem studentium unanimiter ab ipsa villa recessissent, se usque ad villam nostram Northamptoniae transferentes, & ibidem studiis inhaerendo novam construere Universitatem cupientes, nos illo tempore credentes Villam illam ex hoc posse meliorari, & nobis utilitatem non medicam inde pervenire, Votis dictorum Clericorum ad eortem requisitionem annuebamus in hac parte: Nunc autem cum ex relatu multorum fide dignorum veraciter intelliximus quod ex hujusmodi Universitate (si permaneret ibidem) municipium nostrum Oxon: quod ab antiquo creatum est & a progenitoribus nostris Regibus Angliae confirmatum, ac ad commoditatem Studentium communiter approbatum, non mediocriter taederetur, quod nulla ratione vellemus, maxime cum Universis Episcopis Terrae nostrae ad honorem Dei, & utilitatem Ecclesiae Anglicanae & profectum Studentium, Videatur expedire quod Universitas amoveatur a prædicta villa sicut per Litteras suas patentes accepimus, vobis de consilio magnatum nostrorum firmiter inhibemus ne in villa nostra Northampton aliquam Universitatem esse, nec aliquos ibidem Studentes manere permittatis—&c datum 1 febr. an: reg. 49.—*Anno Dom. 1264.*

It is yett uncertain, whether upon account of discords among the Masters or Nationes Boreales and Australes, or else betwixt the Universitie and Citie, The University of Oxfoord sett up at Stamford in the Diocess of Lincoln, where they stayed a considerable time, at least from May till August, when his Majestie by his

Letters dated 11th of August ordered them under pain of forfeiture to return to Oxfoord, and yett after St James Day there were 40 eminent professors still teaching at Stamfoord. This translation seems to have been carried on without his Majesties concurrence, yet there were in that short time erected 5 halls. It is to be observed that in all pleas and debats betwixt the University and Citie of Oxfoord, complaint was made immediately to the King, who either in person determined the controversie or else *send* commissioners with full power to determine: as is related in the years 1334, 1327, 1315, 1310, 1300, and in the great tumult 1297, and in the year 1290 qn the Citie complained to the Parlt. the King took it to his own consideration. But especially in that horrid tumult anno 1354 and 55, when the Town lost all their privileges, there being 10 or 12 persons of note in the Univeristy killed, the King sent Commissioners who judged in all.

As for the Translation of the University of Prague to Leipsie I cannot remember particularly where I read, but it is so recent and well known every where, that nobody can doubt of it.

As to the reason of a Translation from this, there is first the interest of the Nation (which will coneur to the flourishing of the University) Perth being the centre of the Kingdom, of easy access, and this in a corner not accessible without crossing of Seas, except from the west from whence few come.

2o. It would contribute much to the Civilizing of the Highlands, Perth being near to them.

3o. The Victuals are dearer here than any where else, viz. fleshs, drinks of all sorts.

4o. This place is ill provided of all commodeties and trades, wh. obliges us to send to Edinr. and provide ourselves with shoes, clothes, hatts, &c. and what are here are double rate.

5o. This place is ill provided of fresh water, the most part being served with a Stripe, where the foul clothes, herring, fish, &c. are washed; so that it is most pairt nasty and unwholsome.

6o. This place is a most thin and piercing air, even to an excess, seeing that Nitre grows upon the walls of chambers when fires are used, if there be a light to the North, for the most part of the whole year, as in Mr. Ramsey, &c. and this is the reason why old men coming to this place are instantly cutt off.

7o. As also why infectious diseases have been observed to beginn and rage most here as in the Visitation in 1640 when Dr. Bruce died; and last year a most malignant flux whereof dyed upwards of two hundreth persons in a few weeks, which much prejudiced the University.

8vo. This place being now only a Village, where most part farmers dwell, the whole Streets are filled with Dunghills, which are exceedingly noisome and ready to infect the air, especially at this season when the herring gutts are exposed in them, or rather in all corners of the Toune by themselves, and the season of the year apt to breed infection, which partly may be said to have been the occasion of last years dysenterie, which from its beginning here raged thro most part of the Kingdome.

9mo. It may be considered whether the dissention betwixt the University and Citie at present be a reason, seeing it may prove impossible for us to keep Gentlemen and Noblemen's Children from incurring great hazards, considering the dispositions of youth to be revenged; so that if the Magistrates should offer to meddle, they would endeavour to resist them and tumultuate and expose themselves to the rabble of this place, or else be in hazard of burning the toune, which this last year they had certainly done in the case of Mair. Henderson had not by a particular providence the design been known by one of the Mrs. ane hour before it was to be put in execution.

10mo. The disposition of this People (there being few of worth eminent above the rest) is much sett-upon tumultuating, as did appear in the year, 90, when they chased the Students into the Colledges, and brought their cannons to the very gates to throw down the Colledge, and in one of their tradesmen drawing a whinger to Dr. Skeen, within the Colledge, threatning to murder him, the same year, as also Ja. Smith's threatning to drag him to prison.

11mo. The aversion and hatred they have to Learning and Learned men, wch appears not only in the former instances, but in that since our foundation there was never one farthing doted to the University by any burges of St. Andrews. 2o. that in our Knowledge there was not any capable to win his bread by Learning (except our present Bibliothecar) who was born in St. Andrs. 3o. Their entering colledge Vassals by their touns and so robbing the several Colledges. 4to. The unjust and base methods they have taken to break the New Mylne belonging to the University, and innumerable instances of their incroaching upon us by imposing at their own pleasure annuities, taxes &c. upon our Vassals, their present design of robbing the New Colledge, which they are not ashamed to publish. The contrar of all these may be reasonably expected in Perth.

REVD. SIR,

You have here ane answer to one pt. of your Letter as far as I could inform you, and if it be either lame or too tedious or confused, you may impute that

to the shortness of time, having received yours only this forenoon, and designing to send this to you Munday Morning, at qch time the Mrs. are to meet anent the return to the merit of your Letter. I find Mr Sim very backward, and it is the desire of all others that you draw a Signature to be subscribed by his Majestie for the vacancies in your Colledge, to be bestowed for the public Affairs of ye University vixt. The defraying the expence we have been at this last year, and qt is over to be stocked in, yt it may be a public fond for publick business. You may dispose of this yt I have sent as you please, only I hope you will not shew such a confused heap to Strangers. If I had time I could have instanced other transmigrations of that University of Oxonfoord, but I hope you have enough. I am sure I am wearied. As for Secrecy, it is not so much as whispered here, since they have heard no other business with—only I suspect some Agent or Advocate man has this day given some information, for I hear Ja. Sm. is post to the E. You will hear from the whole Masters on Monday, In the mean time I am,

Revd. Sir,

Your humble Servant,

(Signed.) JO. CRAIGIE.

ST. ANDRS. 4 Sept. 1697.

Letter from E. of Tullibardine in Edin. to the University.

For Mr Monro, Provost of the University of St. Andrews.

SIR,

By the inclosed you will understand my Lo Tullibardine's care of you what his Lop's thoughts are of the affair—My Lo refers my brother to your line, he will yrfr expect yt ye will send him an accompt here wt your conveniencie. My Lo writes that those who go wt ye petition need not go off untill you hear of the Kings being come; when he comes you shall be acquainted, he is not expected this moneth or 5 weeks. I wish the prosperity of the University and of all your good projects, and am,—Sir,

Your most humble Servt.

JA. MURRAY, Sy.

Edinr. Oct. 7th, 97.

Kensington, Oct. 2, 1697.

SIR,

I received yours of the ij September, together with the Letters you write of, from the Advocate, Solicitor, and Mr Hugh Dalrymple. I am glade they

are so clear as to the point of Law .I have returned an answer to their Letters, and my Opinion as to the method is, that after you have settled with the Town of Perth, there be a Petition to the King signed by the Masters of the University, and that it be sent by one of their number, to be presented to the King, who can be capable to answer any objections may be made against it, and also to satisfy my Lord Cassillis who is on the place—as to my assistance you need not doubt of it, and it may have more effect this way, than if it should come altogether from myself. I have written to one of my friends to speak to the Magistrates of Perth to make them easy to you. I desire you will assure the Masters of the University that I shall be ready to doe them all the service I can, either in this or any other of their concerns, I am,

Sr. Your humble Servant,

TULLIBARDINE.

Copy of a Letter sent to the Laird of Dolarie.

SIR,

I had a Letter from the Earle in relation to the University, which testifies much his Lordship's kindness, and I am sorrie that it is so long a getting a return, but I could not help it; because it being of common concern, all persons having interest must be consulted, besides that we behoved to know the Toun of Perth's mind. We have met with the Provost and Dean of Guild of it, but communed only in the generall; their promises and offers were kind and ingadging, but neither they nor we were ready nor instructed to conclude any thing. It is easy at first to resolve upon and propose a matter, but to bring it to an happy issue requires good counsell and deliberation; and this is so great an advantage, and of such import, that there will be many doubts anent the method of carrying it on effectually. For Masters must do that, that will be most safe for themselves and the Society. I hop by the next post, I shall be able to make our answer to his Lordship. For as yet many of our number are absent who must concur in this undertaking. I am,

SIR,

Your mo. affectionat humble servt.

Sic. Sub. AL. MONRO.

Sr. ANDREWS, 26th Oct. 1697.

Double,---Letter sent to the E. of Tullibardine in relation to the Universitie's Transportation.

My LORD,

Your Lordship's that ye honoured me with of the 2d instant, I communicated to such of the Masters of the University as could be convened at that time, but it being then vacancy severals of them were abroad, nor are they as yet all returned. I should have wished the meeting had been fuller, but of the small number we had, some waited on the Provost and Dean of Guild of Perth. We cannot but own their offers were obleidging, but neither they nor we were instructed to conclude any thing, and the matter is of so great weight, and such intricacies in it, that your Lordship will not wonder we should take some time ere we can come to a resolution a-
nent it. We are all so sensible of your Lordship's favour, that none of us would decline to wait on your Lordship at London. But I am afraid it shall be difficult for us to do it during the sitting of the Colledge. That we may come to such a conclusion with the Toun of Perth as may encourage us to take such measures as may be most for the advantage of them and us, and most to your Lordships satisfaction, is the sincere wish of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithfull, most humble servant,

Sic Sub. AL. MONRO.

St. ANDREWS, Oct. 29, 1697.

University Minutes.

St. Andrews, Jan. 12, 1698, *** The University appoint Mr Robert Ramsay to repair to Perth to-morrow, and to be sure to return agt. Saturday night, and there, in name of the University, to propose to the Provost and Bailifs of Perth, that the University have considered the proposals that were made by their Provost and Dean of Gild Robison, to Mr Alexr. Monro, late Provost of the Old Colledge, and Mr Thos. Tailzier, at Glendookie, and Mr John Craigie, in reference to the Translation of the University to Perth; and that the University judge it improper for them to undertake the management of the buildings, but that it is their opinion the properest way to carry on this designe is, that the Town of Perth send some man well skilled in Architecture to St. Andrews, to view the buildings of the severall Colledges, and to calculate what money it would take to build sufficient buildings at Perth for the University's accommodation; and that the man they send address himself, when he comes to St. Andrews, to any of the Masters of the University, to conduct him through the

several Colledges, and when the man they send hath ended his survey of the Colledges, he report the samine to the Toun of Perth, and that he transmit the samine to the University with the first occasion, together with their opinion anent the same. As also, that they condescend in what time the buildings may be ended, and whether their Town Counsel will oblige themselves, in that time, to have these buildings completed, and to indent with the undertaker of the work, to pay him the charge of the buildings, and to consent to the University's priviledges: As also, that they enquire if they have heard of late the Earl of Tullibardine's mind anent it. It is to be remembered, that before the Architect part from St. Andrews, he shall lay the model before the University, that they may be satisfied with it.

WILL. YOUNG, Preses.

The University appoint a Committee, consisting of the Preses, Messrs. Thomas Tailzier, Alexr. Scrimseor, and Jo. Lowdoun, to meet with Mr. Ramsay, at his chamber, when he returns, and to prepare the report, and ane overture with it, to the University, at their next meeting.

Instructions for Mr Ramsay.

At St. ANDREWS, Jan. 12, 1698.

The which day the University met and appointed Mr Robert Ramsay Regent of Philosophy in the Old Colledge, to repair to Perth to-morrow, and in name of the University, to give account to the Provost and oyer Magistrates of that City yt the University have considered the proposals that were made by their Provost and Dean of Guild to Mr Alexr. Monro, late Provost of the Old Colledge, and Messrs Thos. Tailzier, and John Craigie at Glendookie, anent the translation of ye University to Perth, and that the University judge it improper for them to undertake the manadgement of the buildings, and that it is their opinion, the properest way for advancing the designe is, that the Toun of Perth send with their first conveniency to St. Andrews, some person well skilled in Architecture, to view the fabricks of the severall Colledges, and make a model of new buildings at Perth sufficient to accommodate the University, and that he exhibit this model to the University, that they may be pleased with it; and when this is done, that he calculate what summe of money it will take to carry on and compleat fabricks at Perth, agreeable to that model, and in what time it may be done; that when this is done, he return to Perth and make report to them, and yt yrafter the Toun of Perth transmit this report to the University, with yr opinion anent it, and signifie to the University if the Magistrates and Toun Counsel of Perth will oblige themselves to enter into contract with the under-

taker of the work, to pay him the charges of the buildings, conform to the foresaid model, and to engage with ye University to have ym compleated in the time condescended on, and consent to the priviledges of the University. Mr Ramsay is likewise appointed to enquire of the Magistrates of Perth, if they have heard of late any thing from the Earle of Tullibardine anent this affair: and all this he is to doe with all possible secrecy, and to return hither and make report agt. Saturday night. Extracted forth of the Records of the University, by

JO. LOWELOUNE, *Cls. Sen. Acad.*

Double of a Letter sent by the University to the Provost of Perth, Jan. 12, 1698.

SIR,—We were expecting to have heard from you ere this time, and doubt not if Provost Monro's death, and his indisposition sometime before it, had not hind' red it, matters betwixt you and us had been brought nearer a period than yet they are. We have considered the report made by some of our number, who met with you and Dean of Gild Robison, at Glendookie. We are sensible of your willingness to encourage us in offering to consent to the priviledges we claim as due to all Universities, but more particularly to this. As for the buildings, we judge it improper for us to undertake the management of them. We have neither skill to do it, nor will our employment allow of it, and yrfore we are of the mind ye propperest way for carrying on this designe is, yt with your first conveniency, you send hither some person, well skill'd in architecture, to view the fabricks of the severall Colledges, and make a model of new ones to be built at Perth, sufficient to accomodate the University; and that before he part from this he shew us the model, that we may be pleased with it; that he calculate what summe of money it will take to carry on and compleat fabricks at Perth, agreeable to this model, and in what time it may be done; and accordingly make his report to you; that when this is done, you transmit this report to us, with your opinion anent it, and signifie to us if the Town of Perth will enter into contract with the undertaker of the work, to defray the charge of the buildings, and engage to us to have them compleated in the time condescended on, provideing ane order be got for translating the University. This is in our opinion the true way for carrying on this affair; and we desire to know your thoughts in it, and whether you have heard of late any thing farther of the Earle of Tullibardine's mind anent it. Your answer by the bearer is expected by, Sir, your most humble servts.

Signed in the name, and at the appointment of the University, by
St. Andrews, Jan. 12, 1698.

PERTH, Jan. 14, 1698.

SIR,

Yours I received and communicated the same to the Magistrates, who before this time expected an account from you, what return ye had from the Earle of Tullibardine; for at our communing at Glendookie, it was condescended on, yt we should not move until ye had an account from his Lordship. As for sending one from this place to take a view of the fabrick of the University, we do not think it needful, until an Act of Transportation be past by his Majestie in favours of the Toun of Perth, or at least a favourable return from Court for that effect; which being granted, there shall be nothing incumbent upon us to do, either as to the privileges or fabrick of the College, but shall be heartily and cheerfully done. In the meantime we expect ye will be active in writing to Court, and let us have your returns, that with joynt resolutions we may act accordingly. This being all at present needful from

SIR,

Your most humble servant,

Sic Subscibitur, JAMES CRIE.

University Minutes.

Jan. 17, 1698, * * * The Committee appointed last meeting brought in their report of a letter from the Provost of Perth, in return to a letter written in name of the University to him, conform to the instructions of the last meeting, in regard Mr Robt. Ramsay was not in case to goe.

The Provost of Perth's Letter being read, the University judged it not satisfactory, and ordered a letter to be written to the Earle of Tullibardine, and subscribed in their name by the Preses, and to be sent with a double of their letter to the Provost of Perth, and his return to them enclosed, desireing his opinion upon the whole: As also entreating his Lordship to procure a Tack of the Archbishoprick at 1000 lib. Strl. per annum for 19 years, with ane offer of sufficient caution. The Committee having brought in a double of the said Letter to be written, it was approven.

Extract of Letter Univ. of St. Andrews to the E. of Tullibardine, 17th Jan. 1698.

MY LORD,

We had occasion several times to meet with some of the Magistrates of Perth, anent the translation of our University to that place. Provost Monro, to

whom the managment of this was chiefly committed, was on a sudden so siezed with sickness, yt he was not in case to give us a distinct account where it stood, only we found that such of the Magistrates of Perth as had met with him and some other of our number, had no instructions to conclude any thing, being only to hear and to report to their constituents; and least either they or we should trifle in a matter of such importance, we thought ourselves bound to send them some proposals anent it, in writing, to which we had the Provost of Perth's return; both which, for your Lordship's satisfaction, we send inclosed. We are all of a mind, that to address his Majestie, for an Act of Transplantation, before we were in contract wt ye Town of Perth, with reference to our buildings and priviledges, were to expose ourselves and wrong the University, which makes not relish the return we have from ym. Your Lordship's judgement in the affair, wt your conveniency, is humbly entreated by,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble, and most obliged servants,

Subscribed in the name, and by the appointment of the University, by

ST. ANDREWS, Jan. 17, 1698.

For Mr. William Young, Arch-Dean of St. Andrews.

KENSINGTON, Feb. 8th, 1698.

SIR,

I received yours of the 13th of the last moneth, and immediately after I spoke to Sir James Ogilvie, who was then in waiting to present to his Majestie, a presentation for Mr Ramsay, to be Provost of the Old College of St. Andrews, which accordingly was done: what kindness I can do the College, as I think mysef many ways obliged to it, so I do assure you, and the rest of the Masters, that I shall always be ready to do it.

As to what you write concerning the Archbishop's Rents of St. Andrews to be sett to the University, I have written to the Chancellor and Earl of Annandale about it, and I think it is proper you try their inclinations, or any other of the Lords of the Thesaurie about it. But I must own, that I think the tack that was sett to the University of Glasgow of the rents of that Archbishoprick is prejudicial to the King's Revenue, and if it had not been done before his Majestie came over, I believe it had not been granted, and you will have heard, that there has been some demurr in it, wherefore I cannot say that I can be so free to press a gift of the like nature.

I think the letter you wrote in name of the University to the Provost of Perth

was very reasonable, and I shall let him know so much, for its proper that you ~~once~~ adjust every thing betwixt yourselves, and then I shall endeavour to procure the King's authority to the Transportation. I am very well pleased that you and the other Masters do continue to desire it. I am still convinced it will contribute very much to the flourishing of the University. I was very sorry for the death of Provost Monro, and hope Mr Ramsay will fill that place well. I believe this answers yours of the 13th and 18th of the last month. I have been indisposed for sometime, which has hindred me from answering them sooner; who am,

Sir,

Your affect. friend and servant,

TULLIBARDINE.

Scroll of Letter, Univ. of St. Andrews to the E. of Tullibardine, Chancellor, 1698.

MY LORD,

We return your Lordship hearty thanks for the care you took in procuring his Majestie's patent for Mr Ramsay to be Provost of the Old Colledge; as also for the concern you have shew'd in the good of the Society, in signifying your pleasure anent one to officiate as Vice-Chancellour. We are very sensible of the kindness you doe us, in what you are pleased to advise us for obtaining a tack of the Archbishoprick. We have, according to your Lordship's direction, addressed my Lord Chancellour, and the Earle of Annandale, who have both promised to befriend us in it: we are afraid yr may be others using yr interest for it, and yrfore we doe again humbly intreat the continuance of your Lordship's favour, yt if it can be obtained, his Majestie's Letter may be procured to ye Lords of Treasury for granting the Tack. We have examined as narrowly as we can, what it hath yielded these 30 years past, and by the exactest computation we can make, the product, communibus annis, including the deductions the law requires, amounts to about 17000 m. but we are still willing to adventure on 1000 lib. str. per annum for it, for 19 years. We know the College of Glasgow have got addition of 100 lib. beside the 300 lib. they had by his Majestie's gift, but we shall not urge that, though we are sure the condition of this University will plead for it more than theirs can do, and by K. Ch. 1st's Mortification, the University had a gift of the whole Archbishoprick.

Since we wrote last to your Lordship we have had a communing with some commisionate from the Toun of Perth, and in return to what they desired, we have sent ym account of the fabricks we have here, and withal have renewed our proposal of sending an Architect hither to condescend on a model of new buildings, which we

conceive might be the less expensive for ym and more convenient for us : so soon as they come to a resolution in it, your Lordship shall have notice from,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged and most humble servant,

Subscribed in the name, and at ye desire of ye University, by

Copy Letter from the E. of Tullibardine to the Provost of Perth.

KENSINGTON, Feb. 15, 1698.

MY LORD,

I wonder that the Toun of Perth and the Universitie of St. Andrews have not yett come to a settlement concerning the removing the Universitie to that place, which would prove so great advantage to the Toune, who, I hope, will goe as far as they can to accomodate them, and agree on it, which is to stand, except the King grant the orders for removing, which I shall endeavour to procure, after you have acquainted me that all is settled.—I am,

Your affectionat friend and servant,

For the Provost of Perth.

Extract Minute of the Town Council of Perth, on date 29 February, 1698.

The Council having heard read ane Letter from the Earle of Tullibardine, chief Secretary of State, direct to the Provost of Perth, daitted at Kensington, the 15th February inst. signifying, that he wondered that the University of St. Andrews and the Toun of Perth having not yet come to ane settlement, anent the removing of the University to that place ; which being considered be them together with ane letter from the Masters of the said University, dated at St. Andrews the 12th of January last : in compliance with the desire of the whilk letters, they appoint Bailie Davidson, Bailie Ramsay, and the Conveener, to meet with the Masters of the University at Newburgh, upon Tuesday next, to come and to commune with them anent the Transporting of the said Universities, and to promise, in name of the Toun, for their encouragement, the Toun's Close and Houses, and Yards belonging thereto, and either to make it ane sufficient Colledge, or to give them twenty thousand merks for doing thereof; and also to procure as much ground to them as should contain the other two Colledges, and to report to this house ; and in the meantime, appoint the Provost to write to the Earle of Tullibardine, and give him hearty thanks for his kindness to this place, and also to write to the Masters of the University anent the said tryst.

(Signed) JAMES CRIE, J. P. C.

Newburgh, 1 March, 1698.

The Articles of Communing betwixt the Commissioners sent from the Universitie of St. Andrews and the Commissioners sent from the Toun Counsell of the Brough of Perth anent the transportation of the said Universitie from St. Andrews to Perth were as followeth.

The saids Commissioners from the Universities declared they had no Commission to propone any new Overture anent the said affair, but to know what the Toun of Perth's thoughts were anent the proposals that were formerlie made at Huntingtower and Glendukie, and particularlie condescended on in a Letter from the Masters of the University to the Provost of Perth as the said Letter of the 12th Jan. last signed Mr William Young in ther name doeth bear and also to hear what they have further to propose concerning that matter.

1mo. To which the Commissioners from the Brough of Perth answers, that they have Commissione from their constituents to assure the Mrs of the Universitie that they shall make them very heartily welcome, and that for ther encouragement they shall make that great Lodging, whereof they are heritable Keepers, situat next the Speygate Port, to be for the Universities service, with the yards and pertinents prof, and likewise they shall have the soume of 20,000 Merks in readiness for defraying the Expense of the rest of the Buildings for the said Universitie, qlk together with the Lodging may be estimat to be worth 80,000 Merks. Yet they are sensible that this will be found insufficient for building of three severall Colledges for accomodating the said Universitie as they are at present, att St. Andrews.— Therefore and for the better expeding of the said work they desire to be informed by the Mrs of the Universitie how many Chambers and rouses will be needfull for accomodating ilk anc of the three Colledges, that being informed of this they may take advice what soume it will require over and above what they propose, that they may adress the Kings Matie for obtaining some publick gift for expeding so good and so publick a Work.

2do. That the Offer that was made by the Commissioners from the Universitie before of the Vacant rents of the New Colledge may be made furthcoming according to the communing at Huntingtor, or,

3tio. That in case the said Transportatione shall take effect and the Universitie be accomodat in Perth as above said, that caise the wholl buildings yards and others now belonging to the said Universitie in St. Andrews shall be given to the Toun of Perth, to compensate their expens in accomodating them as said is.

4to. The saids Commissioners desirs, and entreats the Mrs. of the Universitie

they will be pleased to satisfy themselves with as easie accomodatione as to the number of roumes as they can for the first, in hopes that they may be better.

Minutes of University.

1698, March 4, Mr Thomas Tailzer and Mr William Vilant reported a Communeing they had, with some from the Toun of Perth, at Newbrough on the 1st instant, and gave into the Meeting a Cobby of proposeals they made.—The University appoint their Members all of them to have their thoughts of the said proposals, against their first Meeting after the Rector choosing, and in the meantime Mr Thomas Talzier is appointed to write to the Toune of Perth appoligizeing that they cannot write an answer till their Members who are abroad return.

Scroll of Letter. Universitie of St. Andrews, to the Provost of Perth.

MY LORD,

We have heard the report made by those we sent to commune with you, and have considered the act of your Toun Councel, by both which we think ourselves exceedingly bound to you. We wish the roomes you propose for accomodating a Divinity Colledge had been somewhat more numerous, and that you had mentioned Schools and a Dineing-Hal.—The proposal you make for accomodatione of one Philosophy College is very good, if the roomes be conveniently disposed as to entries and Closets, and there be four convenient private Schools, a common School and a Dineing-Hal, with other appertinents necessary. But, as to the Proposal you make for a third College, you know the three Colleges here have distinct foundations, and it is not possible to have the University translated, unless al the three were provided of sufficient accomodatione at the same time; nor can we think it proper for us to Petition the Public for a fund for providing accomodatione for any of the Colledges, since the probability of succeeding in the designe of translation depends on your offering sufficient accomodation for the several Colledges, whatever way you procure it. We desiderate likewise the publick buildings of the University in common, of which we sent you a list. We cannot but oune you goe a very great length in the Offers you make without troubling the Publick, and though you should find it difficult for you to go a greater length, a greatful sense of what you have already offered shall ever be entertained by

MY LORD,

We are afraid we may incurre your censure by our too long delay of this return, but the truth is in a matter of so great weight we are curious to have al present,

TRANSLATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

and since your last to us, til now, there have been still some or other of the most considerable of our number absent. And we wish in a matter of so great moment al the Masters of the University would heartly concurre to this translation in case particulars were adjusted betwixt us : But &c.

Mind an Apology for y^e long delay.

For Mr Anderson, Principal of St. Leonards Colledge, St. Andrews.

Kensington, 10th March, 1697.

SIR,

I intended before now to have given you a commission for being Vice-Chancellor of the University, and had writ to Scotland for the form of one. But lest by not getting it so soon the affairs of the University be retarded, I hereby nominat and give power to you to be Vice-Chancellor for conferring the degrees of Masters in arts, according to the custome of the University, and for doing every other thing that belongs to the Office.

I cannot but recommend to you, att the sametime, to do what in you lyes for forwarding the design the University has of being transported to Perth,

I am,

Sir,

Your affectionate Friend,

TULLIBARDINE.

Minutes of University.

St. ANDREWS, March 17, 1698, * * *. The University having considered the proposals of the Toun of Perth, as in the Minute March 4, in order to a return to them, do hereby appoint Masters John Arrot, Alexr. Scrimseor, and the Clerk Assistant, to take a view of the fabricks of the Old Colledge. Masters Tho. Tailzier, John Loudoun, and Alex. Scrimseor, assistant, to view the fabricks of St. Leonard's Colledge, and Mr John Craigie, Alexr. Scrimseor, and Jo. Sun, to view the New College, and to report to the University at their next Meeting.

University Minutes.

March 21, 1698, * * *. The University having considered the report made by these appointed by the last days Minute to view the fabricks of the severall Colleges do appoint a further view by the same persons of the two Philosophy Colleges and to bring in exact dimensions of them against the next Meeting.

Masters Jo. Craigie and Alex. Scrimseour, are appointed to draw up a Letter to the Town of Perth in answer to theirs, and to exhibit the same the next Meeting.

Mr Jo. Loudon is appointed to draw up a Letter to the Earl of Tullibardine to be seen by the University next Meeting,

Scroll of a Letter to the Provost of Perth.

St. ANDREWS, March 23, 1698.

MY LORD,

The University have a grateful sense of your kind offers to encourage their Transportation, and are resolved to do all that is consistent with the interest of the University, or can in reason be expected from them to promote that design; but as is insinuate in your proposeals, the twenty thousand merks with your Lodging, (tho we own it a very kindly Offer), yett in our opinion will not be sufficient to accommodate our three Colleges, an account of the fabrick of which we have sent, tho' very rude and by which we apprehend you can make but an imperfect conjecture of what our accomodation here is, which you might better do if you should be pleased to send any skilled in Architecture to view them; who could also inform you how easy it might be to give us more accommodatiōne upon less expense, and in less bulk, which certainly will be needful if our Colleges flourish more at Perth as we hope they will: as for our fabricks and yards here we shall be satisfied that you get a right to them after we are provided of sufficient accommodation as you and we can agree when we come to enter in contract with you. We are to give the E. of Tullibardine an account of this and doubt not but you will inform his Lordship what your thoughts are of it. This by the appointment of the University is signed by,

Mrs. Arrot, _____
 Col. Vilant, _____
 Ja. Preston, _____
 Prov. Old Coll. _____
 Alex. Scrimseour, _____
 Jo. Lowdoun, _____
 Tho. Tall, _____

Per. _____
 Glend. _____
 Newbr. _____
 Pror. _____
 Delay, _____
 Prov. _____
 Ass. _____

(The Marking of the Votes, though on the same paper is connected with another Minute.)

D

Minutes of University.

1698, March, 28, St. Andrews. The which day the Universitie met, the Letter ordered the last meeting to be written to the Earl of Tullibardine was read and approved and ordered to be sent by the Post and signed by the Rector.

The Letter ordered last meeting to be written to Perth was seen and after some ammendments approven, and ordered to be sent to morrow with the account of the Fabricks enclosed.

For Mr John Andersone, Rector of the Universitie of Saint Andrews.

PERTH, first of Appryle, 1698.

SIR,

In answer to yours, the Magistraites and Counsell of this brugh are very glade that the Masters of your University are resolved to concur for transporting thereof from Sanct Andrews to Perth as ye have signified in your Letter of the 28th March last, for as we are confident that it will be found in due time, a meane, through Gods blessing, to advance the Public good of the Universitie, and also of the Kingdome, so we are resolved to come as great a length for advancing so noble a designe as we are able, whereof we hope we have given sufficient evidence in the offer of a found for provyding of Lodgings and accomodationes needfull for that effect.—Not that we think that what we have offered will be sufficient for so great a work, for we desired ye might please to condescend what number of rouses ye would be pleased with to have in readiness at the first, that after we understood your mind, in that, we might then think upon some other courses to be taken for your satisfactione. The Lists ye have sent of your vast fabric and rouses ye have in Sanct Andrews, makes us no wiser in that affair than we were, neither can we think that our sending of ane to view your buildings, (as ye desire in your Letter), will answer the designe, for neither are ye desiring nor would it be convenient to make these our Pattern. But since we hope we have ground to think ye are equally desireous with us to encouradge so great a work, we may be the more confident to plead, ye may please to condescend to such Overtours there anent as may make the mater the more easie, and for the greater dispatch in this we have always thought a meeting together upon it the best expedient. Therefore if ye will please to commissionat some of your Number and appoint the time and place of Meeting, we shall, (if the Lord will), attend you. But if it were your pleasour to come heir to Perth it would doe much better, and the tyme to be tuesday nixt, and there ye shall sie our readieness to do every thing we are able, and with your assist-

ance to condescend on such Overtours as we hope may bring the matter to a Close. If this last motion anent your coming to Perth do not please, we shall be content to meet you when, and where, you please, whilk upon due and timeous advertisement sent in ane Letter shall be observed. This in the meantime in name, and at the command of the Magistrates, and Toun Counsell, of Perth, is signed by

Sir,

Your most humble Serveant,

JAMES CRIE.

University Minutes.

1698, Apr. 5, * * * * A Letter was presented from the Provost of Perth, directed to the Rector, craving a meeting with some Commissionate from the University, anent the Transportation of the University thither, upon which the University resolved to send some of their number to wait on them; as for the time, place, and persons to be delegate, with their instructions thereanent, the University are desired to have their thoughts of all til anoyer meeting.

University Minutes.

1698, Apr. 11, * * * * The University considering the resolution of the last meeting anent sending delegates to treat with the Magistrates of Perth, doe appoint the Provost of the Old Colledge, Mrs. Jo. Arrot and James Preston, to repair to Perth against to-morrow's night, and there to hear what proposals the Magistrates of Perth have to make, and to bring them in writing, to be considered by the University.

* * * * *

For instructions to these Commissionate to go to Perth, the University appoints ym to represent to ye Toun of Perth, yt ye number of roomes condescended on in the lists of the fabricks already sent, is the least that can accomodate the University at the first, and if the University shall flourish more at Perth than here, yr will be a necessity of moe roomes. Withal the University doe not limit ym to the same form of buildings as they have here, but desire the Toun of Perth to condescend on what model they think fit, as may be most convenient for the University, and least expensive for ymselves, and send the samine to be considered by the University; that lykeways the Toun of Perth be desired to satisfie the University, as to the fund they either have already, or do propose, for carrying on this designe; not that the University designe to meddle with the fund, but yt they may be satisfied with the probability of succeeding in the designe; as also to enquire in what time they

can have the severall fabricks ready, and if, upon all things, they are willing to enter into contract. The University agree, that the persons commissioned to goe shall be imbursed of ye necessary expences.

Answers be the Magistrates and Counsell of Perth to the Masters of the University of St. Andrews, their proposals anent the Transplanting thereof.

PERTH, thirteenth day of Aprile, Jaivc. nyntie-eight years.

Whilk day the Magistrates and Toune Councill of Perth having had under their consideratione the instructions given by the University of Saint Andrews to Provost Ramsay, Mr Arrot, and Mr Preston, anent the transporting of the said University from Saint Andrews to Perth; for the promoting of the which designe, the said Magistratts and Councill are willing to enter in contract with the said University, to furnish them the accomodation following, viz. For a Divinity Colledge, twenty convenient fashionable roomes, with Kitchen, Cellars, Lardners, Brewhouse, Gardens, double dyked, with other apertinents necessary.

For a Philosophy Colledge, sixtie convenient roomes for Students, some whereof for noblemen's sons, some for gentlemen's sons, and the rest for men's sons of ordinary quality, with convenient Schools, Kitchens, Cellars, Lardners, Brewhouses, and other Office Houses necessar, with ane double-dyked Garden, Volary, Summer House, and Houses of Office, and ane convenient Church for the whole University.

And as for the other Philosophy Colledge, the Magistrates and Councill are willing to give ane convenient spott of ground, with ane garden, in such an place of the toune as the Masters of the University and they shall find most convenient, and to concur with the saids Masters of the University, to address the King, Parliament, and Country, and to use all methods imaginable for procureing ane fond to build that Colledge. For prosecuting of which designe, the kindness of the nobility and gentry of Perth-hire is not to be doubted. Extracted by warrand of the saids Magistrates and Councill of Perth, be me, RO. GRAHAME, Clk.

Minutes of University.

St. Andrews, Apr. 26, 1698, the qch day the University met.

The answer of the Toune of Perth was again considered, as to the first proposition anent accomodation for the Divinity Colledge, contained in their return, ye University doe not determine in it, because of the absence of the Principal of the New Colledge, but they are of opinion, y^e 20 convenient roomes, wt. oyer appertinents, ne-

cessary, may be sufficient, if they have convenient closets and entries, but that they desiderate Schools and Dineing Hall.

As to the second proposal, anent a Philosophy Colledge, the University think the accomodation proposed sufficient, provideing the sixty roomes be conveniently disposed as to muses and entries, and yr be four convenient private Schools, with a common School and Dineing Hall, and they are really well pleased with ane convenient Church for the whole University.

As to the third proposal, the University can move nothing in the affair, till there be a fund provided for building a Colledge, for they cannot consent to the removing of two Colledges without the third.

The University desiderate the Publick Buildings belonging to the University in common. The University referre the consideration of ane answer yet to their next meeting. * * * * *

The University appoint Mr. Tailzier and Mr. Alexr. Scrimseor, to consider what accompts shall be given in to them by those Commissionate from the University, whether to Perth or St. Andrews.

University Minutes.

At St. Andrews, May 2, 1698, * * * * * The Clerk is appointed to draw a draught of a letter in return to the Toun of Perth's last extract of their Toun Councill's act, and to concert the samine with Masters Tailzier and Alexr. Scrimseor, and that this draught be exhibited to the next meeting, * * * * *

The University allow 2 lib. 8 sh. for Mr Tho. Tailzier and Mr William Valent, for their horse hires to Newbrough some time agoe; likewayes upon the affair of Perth.

University Minutes.

May 17, 1698. The which day the University met. The Clerk produced a draught of a letter to the Toun of Perth, as was appointed by the minutes May 2d. Masters Tailzier and Scrimseor, are again desired to consider it, and Mr Scrimseor is appointed to draw a draught of anyother letter on the same affair, to the Earle of Tullibardine, and to concert it with Mr Tailzier and the Clerk to-morrow, at two o'clock, and exhibite it next meeting.

1698, May 20, * * * * * The Letters to the Earle of Tullibardine and the Toun of Perth were again seen and approven, and ordered to be written over in mundo by these quo drew the draughts, and signed by the Rector, and sent away. * *

THE LIVES
OF
THE BISHOPS OF DUNKELD,

By ALEXANDER MYLN,
CANON OF DUNKELD.

THE LIVES
OF
THE BISHOPS OF DUNKELD.

ALEXANDER MYLN an unworthy Canon, and Official of Dunkeld, and Prebendary of Monydie, wishes joy and increase of godliness,—to the Reverend Father in Christ, Gavin, by the mercy of God, Bishop of Dunkeld, son of Archibald Earl of Angus, and who is distinguished for divine and human learning; and to the celebrated and excellent Canons of that Church, George Hepburn, Dean, the very worthy son of the noble Laird of Halis; James Fentoun, grandson to the Laird of Fentoun; Patrick Painter, Chancellor, a most elegant preacher, and Secretary to the King of Scotland; Walter Small, Treasurer, and first Clerk, who is a man of great honour; George Fern, Archdeacon, sister's son to Bishop George Brown of blessed memory; the very learned Lawyer David Abercromby, subdean, the Laird of Murthlie's eldest son; Robert Schawe, Chanter, and Doctor of physic; Robert Boswell of Fongort, a son of Balmowto's, and who is an open hearted, hospitable man; David Wauchop, Prebendary of Ruffil, licentiãte in the civil and canon Law; Andrew Stewart, * of Cragyne, the Earl of Athol's brother, by whose interest he had been named Bishop of Dunkeld; John Lacey, of Caputh Makcathal, of distinguished honesty; Alexander Moncrieff, of Crief, a Lawyer of great experience; Walter Leslie, of Menmuir, of great learning, and practice in the canon Laws, and whose family is noble by father and mother; the excellent preacher James Lyn, of Forgandyny, Bachellor of Divinity; William Lindesay, of Inchmachnach, eldest son of the family of Rossie in Fyffe; William Irland, of Mukkersy, who is as exemplary for his learning and prudenee, as for his devotion; David Brown, of Fern, cousin to Bishop Brown, and Bachellor of Di-

* ANDREW STEWART had been named by the Chapter, but the Pope refused to confirm him.

vinity; James Lyn, of Aberlady; the well beloved Thomas Greig, of Alith, the head of his family, and who has great zeal for purity of worship; William Moncur, of Lundeif, the Laird of Baluny's brother, and John Stevenson, of Ferdischawe, Organist and Musick Master; who were all recommended to offices in the church, while bishop Brown filled the see.

My very worthy Fathers and Masters, such is the beauty of your church, it's founders and bishops have been men of such goodness and of so great sanctity of manners, that none of you can be so inattentive to it's concerns, as not with earnestness to desire to get acquainted with it's rise and gradual increase. I, the least of the canons of that church, the mean servant of bishop George, having for many years observed the very magnificent ornaments of the cathedral and of the churchmen, having especially attended to the order kept, in regard to the worship of God, I had a vast desire of knowing, who were the authors of that fine system; who gave rise to that spirit of devotion and good government which reigns here. I made it my business to search the old writings of the church, I fell also upon the records of the kingdom, and I had recourse to the registers of abbeys, in order to be more distinctly informed of the names of our prelates, and of these other great men who gave rise to that spacious and elegant church. It gave me a deal of concern, that so celebrated a place, and which had produced so many learned men, has not had to this day the good fortune to possess one good writer. And tho' there are among you men of distinguished knowledge, and out of all comparison beyond me, and who, if they had pleased, would with great character have finished the task I have taken on hand, yet as you have slighted this office, tho' an unpolished writer, I had such affection to your church, and such a desire to promote it's honour, that I took courage, tho' I can scarce expect that my authority can have great weight with you. However, if any thing is improper you have liberty to cut it off, if any thing is warmly expressed, you may smooth it; and in this I submit myself entirely to your correction and better judgment.

As I am going to write of the origin of your see, it is my duty to inform you, that from his affection to St. Colme, the guardian of Scotland, Constantine III, king of the Picts, by the persuasion of St. Adampanus, built and endowed a CONVENT upon the banks of the Tay. This convent, my reverend fathers, stood partly where at present your eastern garden is, and partly where the manse of Crief now stands. This happened about the year 729, 226 years nine months and six days after the church of Abernethy was built; others bring it to the length of 244 years. In this convent he placed that sort of monks, which are commonly

called Kelidees, or Colidees, that is, worshipers of God; agreeably to the customs of the eastern church, they were allowed to marry, only, when their turn of attendance upon the service of God came about, they had not liberty to cohabit with their wives till that was over. They had the same custom at the church of St. Rule, now called St. Andrews, but this custom was to continue for no longer a time than the high director of the christian church approved of it. Upon the increase of devotion among princes, the good king David youngest son of Malcolm Canmor and of St. Margaret his Queen, changed this into a convent of Seculars, at the same time he got appointed a bishop and canons about the year 1127.

GREGORY, who was at that time prior of the convent, and afterwards a privy counsellor, was the first bishop. It was by his interest that the lands of Auchtertool and thirty Prebends were granted the bishop and charter of Dunkeld, as is contained in king David's Charter; Gregory procured in the strictest form, from Pope Alexander, III, the apostolical protection, for himself and his church, in which writing all the possessions are reckoned which they held at that time. He assigned the church of Rattray to the under chanter, whose name at that time was Quasdub. He sat in this see, forty two years, and died in the year 1169; which was the third year of the reign of King William.

To him succeeded RICHARD, a chaplain of the king. He was consecrated at St. Andrews, by Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews; on the vigills of St. Laurence. This bishop freed the church of Abercorn from the right of patronage, claimed by John Aveneale; and being full of good works, he died at Crawmund, and was buried at Inch Colme, in the year 1173; after having filled the see for four years.

The next was CORMAC, by whose interest king William gave him and his church the lands of Dullguise, the tiend of the kings kaen fowls, of the prebendaries of the palaces, of the* of the royal domains and manors belonging to the abbey of Dankeld. He died in the year 1174, and was succeeded by WALTER DE BIDEN, Chancellor to King William, who was consecrated in the year 1178, and having length of days and being full of good works, he died at court, and was succeeded by

JOHN SCOT, an englishman. He had been Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and in the year 1167, had been chosen bishop of that see. But king William stood out against him, and swore by the arm of St. James, that in regard he was born in England, in the village of Podock, he never should have access to that office; and by his own authority, he caused Hugh his chaplain be consecrated. This John

*The Latin word here is "de brasio."

Scot upon his return from the college of Paris, went a pilgrimage to St. Andrews ; he was well received by the bishop who soon made him archdeacon, and upon the death of Richard, who had been the king's chaplain, he was chosen to succeed him as bishop of St. Andrews.

The King being disobliged at this choice, banished him and all his friends. He patiently bore this hard usage, had recourse to Pope Alexander III, to whom he gave information of his case ; upon considering which the Pope confirmed his election, sent him back to Scotland, and with him Alexis the cardinal dean was despatched as nuncio. It was with difficulty the King gave them leave to enter the kingdom, and had not the bishop used his interest, the legate had excommunicated the clergy, who stood by the king and had put the whole diocese under an interdict. He called an assembly of the higher clergy at the abbey of Holirudhouse, and caused Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, consecrate the bishop of St. Andrews. However he returned to Rome as he could not stand against the kings displeasure, and when the Pope, touched with his misfortunes, was about to put Scotland under an interdict, by his entreaties this bishop softened the Pope ; for he rather would renounce his just right, than that upon his account, one mass should be hindered ; and thus he staid seven years at Rome.

In the mean time, upon the vacancy of the see of Dunkeld, he got the charge of it, with the king's consent. He divided that diocese in two, and by his interest with the Pope, his chaplain Eraldus was made bishop of Argyle. Being adorned with many virtues, and having reached old age, he died in the year 1203, after he had filled the see twenty five years. He was buried in the North side of the quire of the abbey church of Newbottel, at a place made famous by the miracles wrought there. William Benyng, prior of that house, and afterwards abbot of Cupar, wrote his life. I visited his tomb, and it has this epitaph upon it.

THOU CHIEF PRIEST, WHO BY THY MANY POWERS BLOTS OUT SINS & CURES DISEASES,
GIVE THY HELP, TO KEEP DISTRESS FROM JOHN A SERVANT OF CHRIST.

If any body desires to know more of this worthy bishop, he may read the book which the great Thomas Lawder, bishop of Dunkeld wrote, and which is bound in the same volume with the life of St. Colme.

His successor was JOHN LACESTER, a relation of King William's. He filled the see eleven years, and died at Crawmund in the year 1214. He was buried at Inchcolme, as his predecessor Richard Provan* had been.

* RICHARD PROVAN is not in the List we have here of the Bishops of Dunkeld. But Spotiswoode has him in his List immediately before JOHN LEICESTER.

The next was HUGH, called HUGO DE SIGILLO, a monk of Arbroth. This was a man of most sweet temper, and had his heart open to the distresses of the poor, so that he was named the poor man's bishop. He died within the year, on the 2d of January.

BISHOP GILBERT filled the see twenty-two years, and was buried at Inchcolme in the year 1236.

BISHOP GALFRED, had a great zeal for the worship of God. After the division of the diocese, he reformed the worship in imitation of the church of Sarum. He was so much noticed for his probity, that in the year 1238, he was chosen bishop of St. Andrews, upon the death of William Malwesey. But he still continued at Dunkeld, as he had not the countenance either of the king, or pope: and the election being declared void, David Bunhame, chamberlain to king Alexander II, was chosen.

This GALFRED gave his dean the churches of Inchchaddin and Clony; and he gave away the lands of Mucklemore for beautifying the great altar. For the support of the residing canons, he gave Suthhousse-sawling, and the lands of Branbelbo, and confirmed the gift of the church of Fortingall which king Alexander had assigned for the same use; for the same purpose he gave ten merks a year out of the church rents of Creif, before he had designed to erect it into a prebendary. There were few of the canons who before this time resided at Dunkeld, and the musick of the quire was not agreeable to the Gregorian manner. Therefore to make the canons attend better, he qualified his donations in this manner: That none but residing canons were to have a share of the commons of the Church.

As he was earnest for the glory of God and for the credit of the church, he increased the revenue allotted for it's support. From the produce of his fishing at Perth, he contributed yearly two stone weight of wax, for the light of the great altar, and he compounded with the abbot of Cambuskenneth, for the teinds for the lands of Douglis in the parish of Forgandyny. He had a dispute with Fullion proprietor of the adjoining ground, concerning the church lands of Megill, which was made upon a survey of the marches; at length being full of days and of good works, he died at Tibermuir on St. Cecilia's day, in the year 1249, and was buried in the old church, formerly the abbey church, of Dunkeld. This is his epitaph
 * IN THIS TOMB, WITH HIS FATHER ST. COLME, RESTS GALFRED, THE ORNAMENT.
 AND GREAT SUPPORT OF THE CHURCH OF DUNKELD.

*In the original the mid Syllable, and the last of every verse, rhyme together, which was an ordinary practice in that age.

BISHOP RICHARD, the king's chancellor, was named by the king. He died in the year 1250, after having filled the see one year, and was buried at Inchcolme.

The next was MASTER RICHARD, of Innerkeithing, great Chamberlain of Scotland, a good man and a very faithfull counsellor. He sat in the see twenty two years, and died on St. Magnus the martyr's day, in the year 1272. His body was laid in Dunkeld, and his heart in the north wall of the quire of the church which he had built at Inchcolme.

There was chosen to succeed him ROBERT SCUTIWILLIS, a man of high birth, of good life, and of great learning and address; at this time he was dean of Dunkeld. In the year 1253, his family, his wisdom, sagacity, and probity, caused him be chosen bishop of St. Andrews, but Alexander III being against him, Master Abell, archdeacon of St. Andrews, was at the king's desire named by the pope; this man filled the see twenty-eight years with great character, and died in the year 1300.

MATTHEW was chosen, and collated by english interest, when Robert Harcas was governor of Perth: it was this Harcas whom St. Michael killed in the Dardrois furd, for oppressing the canons; Matthew sat twelve years and died in the year 1312.

After him was chosen WILLIAM SINCLAIR, uncle to William, Lord Bisset and Glascone. He was of a great family and a man of courage, the champion of the church, and the brave defender of the constitution of the kingdom. In the sixth year after his consecration, he engaged as architect one Mr Robert to finish the work of the church and quire. He built the quire from the ground, in memorial of which he put a fluted cross on the east gavel, which to this day is used for the arms^a of his family and name. He made a burial place for himself, about the middle of the quire, near the stair of the chapter house. There his body lies under a marble monument, and there was a handsome statue of him in alabaster; but this statue was removed to the west side of the north window of the quire, near the great altar; because where it was it might happen to be destroyed, or by being in the way, it might give an interruption to the solemn procession round the altar.

When this prelate resided at Tibermuir, there came to him for ordinary confirmation Mr Finlay, monk, of Icollumkill, and who then had been chosen abbot. This confirmation was granted, at the particular request of king Robert, but whoever was to give the benediction, the convent obliged itself to pay six score of merks, to be laid out on the fabrick of the quire.

As he thought the archdeacon's income too scanty, he joined to this office the church of Logynalloquhy; and to the church of Little Dunkeld he gave the glebe which the vicar pensionary at present possesses. By his prudent management, this venerable prelate recovered from Symon Halden the Lands of Grenach, in the parish of Lecrop near Streveling.

We read in the records of the kingdom, that while this magnanimous worthy clergyman resided at his palace of Achtertool, the sheriff of Fife went with a body of five hundred men, to make head against the English, who had landed in that neighbourhood, but upon observing the country laid waste, and that the enemy kept a good countenance, he fell back as fast as he could. Upon hearing this, the bishop armed himself, took horse with about sixty of his people who were well disciplined, soon meets the sheriff, cries aloud, "what madness is it in you to run away at this rate?" The sheriff replied; "because the English are more numerous, and better soldiers than we are." The bishop said, that if he got his due, the King would cause chop off his golden spurs; yet follow me and with the assistance of St. Colme, whose lands they lay'd waste, we shall have our revenge. He throws away his bishops staff, grasps a spear, turns himself to the sheriff with this expression; "do follow me." They did follow him, came up with the enemy, and happily obtained a great victory. There fell that day more than five hundred of the English, besides a number who by crowding into a barge overset it and were all drowned.

When king Robert returned from England, he had this man in great respect, and in talking of him he used a peculiar stile; for he always called him "My own Bishop," and the letters he wrote were directed in this form: To our Bishop.

Being full of days he died, on the 27th June, 1377, after having directed the church twenty-five years, in which time he finished the quire. We have mentioned already where he was buried. He deserves to be reckoned among the best Bishops, and was succeeded by

BISHOP DUNCAN, who for forty shillings sterling fenced and dispoised, for several lives, the lands of Fordayll to Walter Fotheringay. It was thought he did this because he was an englishman, and Walter his relation, who was one of those who came from England with Edward Baliol; or if the bishop was a scotchman, he gave this right to recommend himself to Edward, and he always kept by it after he made it. He sat in the see twenty-six years, and died in the year 1363, and was succeeded by

MICHAEL MONYMUSK, great chamberlain of Scotland, who died on the first of

March, 1376, and is buried, to the right of the noble William Sinclair, in the quire of Dunkeld, who was succeeded by

BISHOP JOHN PEBLIS, who was king's chancellor, a man of learning and of great weight. He caused glaze the eastern window of the quire, and adorned it with several figures painted on fine glass. He died in the year 1396. Was succeeded by

ROBERT CARDENY who was made bishop, by his sister's interest with the king. His father was Duncan Cardeny of that ilk, who by marriage became Laird of Foss. He filled the see forty years, and did many good actions; he purchased the lands of Muklere, out of the rents of which he endowed a vicar to say mass, in the quire, at the altar of St. Ninian's which he had built and adorned. On the 27th Aprile, 1406, he founded the isle of the church, and afterwards finished it.

In his time the palace was thatched after the HIGHLAND form, and consisted of several long houses, which never passed the height of two floors. But as some wicked people designed to fall upon him, out of whose hands it was with difficulty he escaped to Duncan Carding's of Inchewen his brother, to prevent accidents of this sort, he built a castle, which is the best place of defence thereabouts. He made in it a great hall with vaulted granaries and larder under it.

He was at the expense of glazing all the windows of the quire except the east one. He bought a handsome and very valuable mitre, and bishop's staff. He was a great defender of the church in every cause, in which he had the assistance of his sister's son, the learned Donald M'Nauchtane doctor of laws and dean of Dunkeld. He gave the lands of Cammo in the parish of Crawmund, in exchange for the castle of that place, and some lands adjoining to it. He feued out the lands of Loggy near Dunfermline, for a feu rent of two merks, without the consent of the chapter. Being full of days, he died suddenly of an apoplexy. It is said he fell from a bed in his great hall in the year 1436. He was honourably buried, under a stone monument in St. Ninian's chapel, which he had built, and endowed, and was succeeded by

DONALD MAKNAUCHTANE who was doctor of laws, and dean of Dunkeld; he went to Rome for confirmation, upon his being chosen by the chapter. This great and learned man had been his uncle's procurator and the great champion of his church. He was present at a riding of marches of the church lands of Fern, and had a successful law suit for ten merks yearly, for the support of the canons, against Walter Stewart, archdeacon of St. Andrews, and parson of Crief. This plea gives testimony that he was a learned man and well qualified for business.

He did honour to the blessed virgin, by glazing the windows of her altar, and by beautifying it with his arms. He made up a good rent, particularly in the town of Cluny, with this he endowed that altar. If his life had been longer he had done much more; but he paid the debt of nature in that journey he took to Rome.

The king, who had opposed Donald Maknauchtane, gave his interest to the illustrious James Kennedy, his sister's son, who was bishop two-years after his confirmation, and was then translated to St. Andrews. We shall give an account of his magnificence, when we come to treat of the bishops of St. Andrews.

Upon his translation, by the pope's provisional confirmation and the king's interest, was chosen the honourable and good man ALEXANDER LAWDER, rector of Ratho, brother to William, bishop of Glasgow, and chancellor of Scotland. He died in October, 1440, before his consecration, for he only had been chosen the month of May before. He was buried with his ancestors in the church of Lawder. There was elected in his place,

Mr JAMES BRUSS, rector of Kilmany. He was consecrated at Dunfermline on the third Sunday before Lent, February 4th 1441. He filled the see six years, and presented the church a coppe and four vestments, of great value. He assigned for ever the church of Abernite to four vicars of the quire of Dunkeld.

He was a man of steadyness and exerted great resolution against the highlanders. In particular he had to stand against Robert Reoch Makdonquhy, who was a scourge to the church. This wicked man caused plunder the church lands of Little Dunkeld. A nephew of the bishop's of the name of Forrester, and who was forrester of Torwood, rented these lands at that time. In riding to Perth, it happened that this Robert met Forrester to the east of the church of Authergavin; they all at once came to blows and Reoch was deeply wounded in the head, but he did not dye just then, but having dressed his wounds, he came to Perth, where the king was, and by way of reward for apprehending the master of Atholl, got from him a feu right of the lands of Strowan. After having gone home, and taken possession of these lands, he died of his wounds. It was owing to his death, that when the clan Donoquhy were called out by the king against the English, they on their way plundered the lands of Torwood.

In the year 1447, this worthy man, was translated to Glasgow, and made chancellor of the kingdom, and was succeeded by the king's secretary,

Mr JOHN RALSTOUN upon his masters recommendation, who filled the see four years. He purchased hewn freestone from the quarry of Burnbane, for carrying on the isle of the church, which had been begun by Robert Carding, one of the former

bishops. If my information is good, he had this work so much at heart, that he and one or two people of high rank who staid with him, had a custom of carrying every day out of the quarry several burdens of stones. He died in the year 1450, and is buried in the quire, to the north of the great altar.

MR. THOMAS LAWDER, master of Sowtry, who had been preceptor to James II, was named upon the king's recommendation: as he was then full sixty years of age, the chapter at first refused to appoint him, but having got over this scruple, he was happily consecrated. This venerable prelate had such an acquaintance with divinity, that himself preached the faith to his parishioners.

It was by virtue of a good life, that he made his first attempt to bring to their duty, such as were disobedient to God and the king. But when a fierce uncivilized people overran his province, he procured the king's commission for his bailiff, and being seconded by great family interest, he caused put several of them to death; and by this severity he kept the rest in awe. By his great sagacity, he got that archrobber Makbre, his sons, and the whole gang rooted out. This man was reckoned the most infamous person of his time; the name he took was that of the bishop's sorner, that is, one who went about to extort money and victuals from the bishop's tenants.

The bishop once happened to imprison one of that tribe which in Irish is named clan Donoquhy, upon which Alexander Robertson, their chief, got together a band of ruffians, fell upon the bishop and threw a shower of arrows at him, at the very time in which he was, on whitsunday, celebrating high mass in the cathedral, obliged him to give over the service, and to take shelter behind some of the timber of the quire; and tho Alexander was one of the worst of men, yet upon rescuing his dependent, he retired without pushing his revenge any farther. A complaint is entered of this outrage, to the king, and Robertson had been put to death, if it had not been for the interest of Lord Glammis, a great court favourite, whose daughter he had married without a portion. The king was softened by Lord Glammis who also soothed the bishop to give up his revenge, for the hopes of favour at court.

This bishop had interest with King James, II, to have all the bishop's lands north of the Forth erected into a barony, by the name of the barony of Dunkeld; to be entered as one freehold in the king's court at Perth; and the church lands of Prestone, Bonkill, Aberlathey, Crawmund, Abercorn, and the other lands lying to the south of the Forth were erected into a barony by the name of the barony of Aberladey, and to be entered in the king's court at Edinburgh.

He to his honour, finished the isle of the cathedral, glazed the windows, and

plastered the roof; he also built the porch at the south gate, and beautified it with several fine images; and he himself dedicated the church in the year 1464; and not being wearied of good works, he on the fifth of March, 1469, founded the steeple, and got it brought to the height at which you see it. On March 19th, 1457, he laid the foundation of the chapter house, which is a fine firm fabrick. It was this year, that after having procured peace to the whole province, he kept in his own church the synod which for fear of the Catheran used to be held at Tulilum. Upon July 8, 1461, this great and very worthy priest, never wearying of good works, laid the foundation of a bridge to be built across the Tay, partly of timber, partly of stone.

These publick works did not make him forget the ornaments of his church. He procured many priests vestments of silk, and a deal of silver work, such as six candlesticks, one cup, two phials, three flagons, a box for the chrism, a cross, in which there is a part of our Lord's cross, a vessel for holding the eucharist of considerable weight, and another for the holy water, two instruments for sprinkling the holy water, and two incense censers. There was over against the great altar a piece of painting representing the twenty-four miracles of St. Colme, and overhead of this two statues of that saint; there were two pillars on which rested two angels, who held two candlesticks of fifteen branches, agreeably to what is said in the Revelation of John, each of these branches was suspended by a silken rope. He made a pillar for supporting the great wax lights at Easter, a bishop's chair, and a bench for the choristers.

For all this he did much for promoting publick worship; in the first place he appointed a chaplain and chorister for Inver. He appointed a daily mass, at the throne of the holy cross, for the rest of his soul. He erected into prebends the church of Mukkersy, and the vicarage of Alyth and Aberlathy. He bought a house at Perth, and another at Edinburgh, for the use of his successors. He provided a salary for six singing boys, for the service of the quire. He gave allowanee for a daily mass in the convent of Tulilum, for the repose of souls. He founded the chaplainry of St. Martin at Edinburgh, where the official sits as judge. He ordered an annual festival to be kept at the convents of preaching friars at Edinburgh and Perth.

Being now advanced in years, he sent commissioners to Rome, for leave to resign, in favours of the worthy Mr James Levingtoun, dean of Dunkeld, son of the laird of Salcoats; but as Thomas Spence, bishop of Aberdeen, who was in high credit with our own and foreign courts, (for his prudence in restoring the publick peace,) desired to be translated to Dunkeld, this for some time put a stop to the

first design. But having at length found means to put the court in good humour, he despatched to Rome the venerable Mr David Meldrum, official of Dunkeld, and prebendary of Cragyne, and Mr David, Chanter of the church of Coldham; by whose means the bishoprick was bestowed upon dean Livingtoun. The former bishop still retained his rank, and the rents of the bishop's lands on the south side of the Forth. He died in the year 1481, full of days and adorned with such good works, as we omit for fear of wearying the reader. Below is his epitaph:

CHRISTIAN PEOPLE POUR OUT YOUR JOYFUL PRAYERS FOR THOMAS LAWDER, YOUR
TEACHER. DO O VIRGIN GIVE HIM THE NAME OF SAINT, AND LET ST. THO-
MAS BE PLACED NEAR THE GOOD ST. COLME IN HEAVEN. *(1481.) HE FILLED
THIS SEE WITH UNFADING HONOUR, THE TIME WAS THIRTY YEARS BUT HIS
GOOD ACTIONS WERE PAST RECKONING.

JAMES LIVINGTOUN, dean of Dunkeld, rector of Forteviot, and Weems, was remarkable for his stature; and tho' he was rich he was an affable sweet tempered wise man. For his wisdom he was made chancellor of Scotland. The first Sunday after St. John the baptist's day in the year 1476, he was consecrated at Dunkeld, by John Hepburn, bishop of Downblane, John Balfour, bishop of Brechin and Thomas Lawder then bishop of the universal church.

He had done great things if he had not been embarassed with state affairs, and taken up with thoughts of being translated to the Archbishoprick of St. Andrews. For before his preferment he beautified the church of which he had the charge, and did some things of that sort after he was bishop. For he built and endowed the altar of the virgin martyr St. Catharine in his own church, and he erected a chaplainry in honour of St. Colme, in the collegiate church of St. Giles at Edinburgh; and he carried on the bridge of Dunkeld which bishop Lawder had begun. Having at length overcome the cares of life he died on Aurelius Augustinus his day in the year 1483. One year, eight months, one week, and five days, after his predecessor, when he had filled the see, seven years, two months, and three days. He was buried at Inchcolme.

The chapter made choice of ALEXANDER INGLIS, dean of Dunkeld, archdeacon of St. Andrews, keeper of the rolls, clerk register and clerk of council to our supreme lord James III, a man of great prudence and resolution. He was recommended by the king, with the good will of the courtiers, and yet he never was confirmed by the pope, because another had been promoted at the court of Rome.

*This number in the original runs thus, and was an ordinary trick of the monks, M semel, L semel, X ter ac uno C quater annis. By putting the large letters together it makes MCCCCLXXXI, or 1481.

This person was **GEORGE BROWN**, chancellor of Aberdeen, and rector of Tynninghame in the diocese of St. Andrews. He was born at Dundee, where his father **George Brown**, the laird of Mydmar's son was town treasurer. His mother's name was **Jean Balbirny**. He was taught grammar at Dundee, studied philosophy at St. Andrews, and took his first degrees at Paris. Upon his return he was chosen one of the four regents of St. Salvator's college in St. Andrews, tho' he was at that time a very young student. He was put in orders by bishop **Lawder of Dunkeld**, on May 26th 1464.

The king having sent him to Rome, to solicit the promotion of **George Carmichael** to the see of Glasgow, he became known to the college of cardinals, and in time he contracted an intimacy with the most reverend father **Roderigo Borja**, the vice-chancellor, who by his interest with pope **Sixtus 12**, got him raised to the see of Dunkeld. By the pope's direction, he was consecrated at Rome by bishop **Alphonso** assisted by the bishops of **Santo Olorenso**, and **Mastares**, in 1484. However he did not peaceably enjoy his promotion, but he was by law declared a rebel and traitor, and loud complaints were made to the pope and college of cardinals by the king, who insisted that his nomination should be recalled, but by the interest of the vice-chancellor these petitions had no effect.

In the mean time great interest was made to pacify the king, particularly by **Robert Lawder**, lord Bass, commonly called Robert with the borit quhyngar. The bishop in his way from Rome touched at Inchcolme, where he was received honourably as ordinary of the place, for **Robert Lawder** had caused disperse the pope's bulls. It happened when (**Robert Lawder**,) he went to make interest at court, that the castle gate was shut against him, by means of **Alexander**, elect of Dunkeld. He in this manner addresses the porter upon his refusing him entrance; "you refuse me access to the king, I will bring the English to the walls, and by their means I will be heard". The king was at his window, and overheard this discourse, was pleased with it, and having received some money he was reconciled to the bishop. There was another circumstance which forwarded this reconciliation, that the bishop conveyed the patronage of Abercorn for forty merks to **John Lord Ramsay**, the king's great favourite. It was in this way he made up his peace with the king, and the nobility; as to the bishop elect, he agreed with him, upon these terms, that he was to retain all the rents which he raised during the time of the dispute.

Tho' from this time he enjoyed his office in peace, yet he was burdened with a load of debts, which he could only discharge by degrees. In the meantime he re-

commended himself by a decent hospitality, and by a certain air of cheerfulness and address, of which he was master, and by generosity when there was occasion for it.

Having once discharged his debts, he gave himself entirely to good works. His first care was about his flock, it was for them that he called learned men to Dunkeld, to bestow on them the offices of greatest trust. He gave the Subdean the power of country dean and commissary thro' the whole diocese. There is neither clergyman or layman in the province who does not know that crowds of fornicators, adulterers, and incestuous persons were brought to do penance in presence of the Subdean. The Subdean being sent to Rome, he ordained the learned and pious Walter Brown, bachelor of divinity, as official and country dean, and gave him a salary for that purpose. This man had great knowledge of the canon law.

When the diocese became populous, by advice of this official, he divided it into four deaneries. One was for the countries of Athol and Drumalbane, another for Angus, the third for Foss, Fotherick, and Strathern, and the fourth for those parts which are south of Forth. As Thomas Gray understood Irish, and was a rigid disciplinarian, he gave him the charge of Athol. In Angus he appointed Alexander Myln, the unworthy writer hereof. In Foss, Forthrick, and Strathern, the prebendary of Forgundyny. In the parts beyond Forth, first Mr Thomas Greenlawe, and then Mr Ker. It was only to the learned and worthy canons of this church he gave this charge. He committed the trust of his grand penitentiary to his own church, as being the most learned, and of the greatest consequence. He himself took the direction of the middle district, and sent into the Highlands the lesser preaching friars who understood Irish, that they might preach and hear confession, at least once a-year. He employed to preach in the cathedral the above-named prebendary of Forgundyny, who was then the Principal of the College of St. Andrews: for this office he gave him a salary, and provided for the expence of his family, till he had made him one of the canons. By the preaching of these men, there were several who had kept up their sins for thirty years, and who yet found themselves obliged to make confession, and obtain absolution. Those who had sinned publickly had their hearts touched so much with remorse, that the number was but very small of those who, on their deathbed, had themselves to accuse for atrocious sins, for which they had not formerly made atonement. But tho' he was very severe in his discipline, he never could apply to his own use the fines of offenders: and it was his ordinary saying, 'The oil of the wicked will never make my head to shine.' These fines he caused apply to the reparation or other uses of the parish church where the penitent resided.

It was in this way he managed the spiritual affairs of his office. His care in this, however, did not make him neglect the temporal concerns of the church. He found it harrassed with perpetual encroachments of lay people, to prevent which he behaved with that steadiness which became the place he bore. Therefore, without being daunted by the great expence, having first taken proper advice, he, with unbroken courage, defended, not only the proper possessions of the bishops, but also those of the canons and chaplains belonging to his church.

In the first place, whereas Bishop THOMAS LAWDER had begun a law-suit, for recovery of the church lands of Fordale, unjustly detained by James Fothringay,—and as Andrew Lord Avandale, the then chancellor, was thought to favour lay people against the clergy, if these had any sort of peaceable possession, especially as he was connected with James Fothringay by personal obligations,—for these reasons the plea was at that time brought to no issue in the king's courts. Therefore, Bishop Lawder, in his last will, left a peculiar charge with his successor, to recover these lands, under his heavy curse if they did it not. The defence was, that these lands belonged heritably to James Fothringay, and as such were held by him of our supreme lord the King. But the case was otherwise, as is plain from the records of the church, and from the right which Bishop Duncan gave Walter Fothringay for forty shillings sterling, which right was to him and his heirs for a certain number of lives. But as in the time of the troubles the charters of the Church of Dunkeld were carried for secrecy and security to the islands, and had not been brought back; this made the possessor set himself up as heritable proprietor, and the king as the superior of these lands. However, after a tedious and expensive law-suit, the bishop recovered that estate, but he first soothed Fothringay with money, lands, and other priviledges. He then sold these lands to his brother Richard, for a yearly feu rent of forty merks, as is seen at large in the writs of the church of Dunkeld.

SECONDLY, he recovered the estate of Mukkersy from SIR JAMES CRICHTON of Strathord, the violent possessor of it. On this account Sir James lay snares for him, and did him all the harm in his power. In particular, he was so rash as, with only twelve men, to waylay and set upon the bishop, near the bridge of Ern, as he was on his way to court, with a retinue of forty people. And if the bishop, and the clergy of his train, had not softened them, he had certainly been cut to pieces by the servants. However, they then parted without coming to blows, and to convince the world of Sir James's bad intentions, the bishop returns to Dunkeld, and did not go forward to court. From that time Sir James was very hard upon the bishop's tenants of Pettindyny and Kinvaid. Wherefore, keeping up his design, he

purchased from Robert Waus, citizen of Edinburgh, for three years of the fruits of the church of Crawmund, the lands of Wester Kinvaid, Wester Loustoun and Easter Loustoun. These lands he mortified to the church, and by the favour of our supreme lord the king, he got them united to the barony of Dunkeld, but upon this express condition, that a layman was to hold them of the church, and to perform the services to the king which fell to these lands. Having made this purchase, he built a mansion house on the lands of Kinvaid, and from this time the tenants of the church lived in great peace.

Having procured rest from this quarter, a new enemy starts up in the person of James Herring of Clony, son and heir to David Herring of Lethendy. He so harassed the church tenants of Kincarns, belonging to George Brown, the chancellor, and to Mr Thomas Greig, prebendary of Ruffil, that he would not allow them to graze their cattle on the property, or common, beyond the corn lands, alledging that the church tenants had no sort of privilege beyond the arable land. Upon this pretext he caused seize their cattle daily, and kept them, until he forced the poor tenants to appear in his court, and there, to the great prejudices of the liberty of the church, to engage for certain services to be performed in seed and harvest time, and upon other occasions. Upon this footing, the chancellor and prebendary brought frequent complaints to the bishop, which he took much to heart. He first expected to put things to right by riding the marches, and, with consent of James Herring, a commission for this purpose was procured for William Earl of Errol. Such industry had been used, that a great crowd assembled on the disputed ground. Upon this James, with his usual skill, had recourse to evasions, (because he thought the church would otherwise get the better,) and therefore one of the judges which he brought had not taken the oaths prescribed by law, and upon this the survey gives up. The bishop had the sagacity to discover that James despaired of his own cause, as, after such vast expences, he had recourse to such a trifling shift; and therefore he addresses him thus: 'I will rather lay out a thousand pound of St. Colme's patrimony, than not find before Whitsunday another neighbour with whom to ride the marches.' To soothe the bishop, he proposes an agreement, and having chose arbiters, who met, nothing was done, as this man always run from one trick to another.

Upon this there was a meeting for advice, consisting of the canons, of laymen who depended upon the church, and of persons learned in the law. This meeting found that the lands of Cardneys, Clony, and Concragie, of right belonged to John Stewart, son of Walter Stewart. By the king's command, the reverend father gets from the registers, extracts of all the decrees, charters and appretiations granted James

Herring. For five hundred merks he purchased the king's rights. Then he got John Stewart, upon promises of giving him certain lands heritably; and for carrying on the process, John Stewart by the bishop's advice sold George Blair his rights to the lands of Petty, and the money arising from this sale was put in the bishop's hands, for prosecuting this affair. James Herring, and his son Andrew, who had the fee, were by a king's messenger, cited before the king's council, at the instance of John Stewart. The reduction of the decreets obtained against Walter Stewart was carried on with such expedition, that the Herrings had no other shift but to affirm that this Walter had ratified and confirmed all the decreets obtained against him, at the instance of James Herring, that there had been an appretiation, and that infestment was taken on these lands, in consequence of this agreement; and further that he had obliged himself, under the penalty of a thousand merks, not to do any thing to the contrary. In proof of this assertion, they produced two writs, signed and sealed with the subscription and seals of William Barry, and John Kowgask. Mr James Henderson, as king's advocate, and as procurator for John Stewart, offered to prove these writs to be forged; on the other hand the Herrings craved that a certain day should be appointed for the verifying them. Upon which the judges appointed a day for the probation and improbation of these writs. When witnesses came to be examined, it was found that one of the contested papers had been written after the death of Walter Stewart. The Herrings then in earnest began to despair, and therefore they submitted the cause, without reserve, to the bishop of Dunkeld, and to Sir John Rattrey of that ilk, and George Brown chancellor of Dunkeld, the two last to be the bishop's assessors. On the one side there compeared John Stewart, and his procurator Andrew Lord Gray who had been his tutor by his father's will. On the other side there were James and Andrew Herring, in defence of their own right. At length a sentence was given, as appears by the process extracted by me, and preserved at full in the records of the church of Dunkeld. However by the means of the venerable father Laurence prior of the Isle of May, son of Lord Oliphant, whose nephew Andrew Herring was, this agreement was made, that James and Andrew Herring, and John Stewart, as heir to his father, in whose name sentence had passed, that they should resign their lands, into the king's hands, of whom bishop George and the church were to hold them. And to lay every cause of strife, the bishop with the consent of the chapter, gave the Herrings the church lands of Megil; however under reversion for the payment of four hundred merks. After they had been five years in possession, the reverend father

paid this money, and redeemed these lands. To John Stewart he gave for his right, which was a good one, the lands of Clony, Concragy, Adamstoun, Burroustoun, and Miltoun. But as John Stewart complained, that they had not given him all for which they had engaged, the bishop gave him the lands of Arntuly. These lands he looked upon as his own, as he had given the crown three years of the fruits of the parishes of Crawmund, and Aberlathy, to get rid of a suit about these lands at the king's instance; and tho' matters were made up at all hands, yet he thought it proper to resign to the king the lands of Clony, Concragie, and Cardynis, otherwise he could not have joined them to his barony, without an additional expense of three hundred merks, besides the cost of suits, and the other lands he had promised in exchange for them. And I have good reason to know, that the purchase of these lands came to no less than a thousand pound, a sum which the bishop would not have laid out, if it had not been for the freedom of his own lands and those of the church. There might have been another reason to persuade him to this purchase. In the time of Thomas Lawder, a gang of robbers from the loch and castle of Clony, would not allow the fruits to be carried from Alith to Dunkeld, but carried them off by the strong hand. Since this plea common pasture has not to this been refused to the tenants of the chancellor and of the prebendary of Ruffil.

In riding to Clony by the way of Stenton, and Caputh, the bishop saw that all that country belonged to his church, except the lands of Fordowy, which held of the abbot and abbey of Dunfermline. As he had a desire of increasing the lands of the church, and was very earnest to travel on his own ground all the way betwixt his two palaces, for these reasons he purchased the immediate superiority of the whole lands, and a fourth of the property from John Blair of Bilgillo who held of the abbey. To the abbey he gave the superiority of the lands of Logy, near Dunfermline, with two merks of feu rent paid out thereof, as also four merks of feu rent paid from Newton of Aberdour. This was for the abbey's title to the lands of Fordowy. He had the consent of the chapter to this translation, and the king's confirmation, and thus he could ride on his own ground four ways betwixt his two palaces, by Cardenis, the Letter, Stentoun, and Caputh. For forty shillings a year, he purchased from the king the forest and lands of Birnam, the wood and lands of Logy, and every priveledge they had. The king had a claim upon the lands of Mukkersy and Arntuly, for which he gave the fruits of the parishes of Crawmund and Aberlathy, as was mentioned before, and he got them united to the barony of Dunkeld.

Being cited for the eviction of the lands of Mukkersy and for procuring wardance against the Canes of Kinghorn, he was freed from this process by a decree of the privy counsell, it appearing by writs produced by me, that the church was freed from these claims ; which process the reverend father caused enter in the records of his church.

I now go on to the establishments he made ; and first he erected an altar to the blessed virgin, (save us from the pains of hell !) and endowed a chaplain to attend it. This is to the right of the principal altar.

In year the 1500 the pestilence ravaged the kingdom, and as a report went that the city of Dunkeld had at all times been preserved from calamities of this sort by the merits of it's patron St. Colme, therefore in honour of that saint, he caused high mass be said at his own charge, every day for a whole year, at the time of ringing the second bell for matins. And at the year's end the city and a great part of the country about it was untouched by this distemper. He continued this foundation, and left from his private estate fourteen pound a year for the support of a daily mass. And that these might be done in such a way as to be an honour to the church, he chose seven vicars of the quire, for the seven altars of the church which had not been endowed before. These vicars had each ten pounds of salary allowed him. These were the altars of St. Martin, St. Nicholas, St Andrew the apostle, the Innocents, All Saints, Stephen the Martyr, and John the baptist. Here there was a vast decency, for one of these vicars, in his turn, said mass every day when the second bell rung to matins. Then the devout churchmen, and laymen, besides a number of strangers, met, with great joy.

After this he erected an altar and chaplainry, in that part of the church of Dundee where he had been baptized ; this was in honour of the blessed virgin, and of the three kings. This altar he beautified and endowed with pretty extensive burrough lands, and with the rent of the ten pound land of Kirbuddo. He also founded from his private estate two chaplainries to attend the chapel of the blessed virgin martyr St. Katharine, in the isle of the loch of Clony. These chaplainries were to be for his own use, and that of his successors. He built from the ground this chapel, and indeed all the castle except the vault of the great tower.

And as he found in an old record of his church, that the lands of Gawy, and part of the lands of Ferdishawe, had once been a prebend for the entertainment of strangers, but the former bishops had for some time been in use to apply it to their own advantage, this bishop first got the consent of the canons, and then restored the prebend. But as the rents were too scanty for maintaining a decent

hospitality, he joined to this prebend the church of Logybride, and for the same use he made a purchase of the lands of little Keithick. Thence he endowed a master entertainer, who was to be master of the ceremonies, to be obliged to perpetual residence, and to be a canon of the church. There were besides seven poor people to be supported by him. The chapter was to present to this office as is seen more fully in the foundation itself, confirmed by apostolical authority.

We told before that the pestilence had broken out; the bishop observed that the small number of parish churches, made a great concourse of burials, which in these circumstances had the worst consequences: and as the parish of Little Dunkeld was then sixteen miles long, with breadth in proportion, therefore he divided it into the old parish of Little Dunkeld, and the parish of Caputh. At Caputh he built at his own charge, a quire with painted cieling, and glazed windows. He gave for the support of the vicar, a small vicarage which had formerly been united to his see, four acres of glebe land, and the rising ground called the Mute Hill to build a church upon; as is seen at full in the charter of that church subscribed by me, and sealed with the seals of the bishop and chapter.

What follows is surprising, and yet I think it must not be passed over. The bishop had staked out and consecrated burying ground for his people, being much afraid of the pestilence. In the mean time he visited some of the church tenants of Caputh, who had been bad of that disease, and gave them such consecrated things as might be of use to them. Next day he caused dip the bones of St. Colme in consecrated water, and sent it to them to drink, by the chancellor, and many did drink, and were cured. But there was one forward fellow among them who said to the chancellor, "for what does the bishop send us water to drink, I could wish he had sent some of his best ale." But he, and the rest to the number of thirty who refused to drink the water, died of the plague, and were buried in one grave, a little below the ordinary burying ground.

After this upon information that these places had increased in populousness, and understanding that Irish was spoken in the highland parts of the parish of Caputh, therefore among the woods of the church lands of Dowally, he built and endowed a church, in honour of the blessed mother St. Anne; and gave the priest ground for a manse, as is seen at full in the writing made out in form concerning that affair.

He rebuilt and restored the church of St. Servanus, which was the principal one, of the parish of Tibermuir, appointed a vicar for it, gave him a vicarage and glebe lands, to the north of the water of Almond, as the writing on that head

declares more fully. There was an old report that the cause of deserting, and not using this church had been, that a child of Lord Ruthven's, having been baptized there, was drowned in the water of Almond, on their return home, and from that time the church of the blessed virgin of Tybermuir was reckoned the parish church. It is thought that this was the chapel of bishop Galfred, of William Sinclair, and of the other bishops who resided there.

Besides all this he found that the lands of Balquhome, in his own parish of Alith, had of old been mortified by certain noble persons for certain weekly masses to be celebrated in the chapel of St. Ninians, which lay near the burying place of that parish; but first the vicar, and then the prebendary, eluded the design of the founder, and put this money into their own pockets. But to answer the intention of the foundation, at the same time for the salvation of souls, the bishop with consent of the prebendary, and of the priest of that chapel, appointed a chaplain to say mass every day, and to assist the vicar pensionary in the charge of souls; to this chaplain he gave the personal predeal and every other sort of tiend. The writs give much fuller information.

And tho' he was kept busy with lawsuits, and with the purchase of lands, he by no means neglected the ornaments of the church. For,

First he gave it several silk copes, of which at least two agreed in colour. There were three of a gold stuff. He made of white cloth embroidered with gold, a cloak, a surplice, a robe, and every thing else of the same kind. There was a cover for the altar of blue and gold. He made a pulpit of brass divided into four, * each division of which was supported by the statue of an evangelist, and when the gospel was read it was in that division which answered to the name of the evangelist which was then read. He made a less pulpit, which was supported by the statue of Moses, behind on which there was a candlestick of three branches. He caused paint the upper parts of the pews. He made new, the throne of the holy cross, chancel, the altars of St. Martin and St. Michael. He caused make images of the apostles, and the portraits of the other saints were drawn upon the wall all round. But as to the kings, noblemen, bishops, and others, who had been the benefactors of the church, he caused their figures be drawn upon the wall behind the altar, that the whole quire might in the time of prayers have their eyes upon them. He also beautified all the altars with proper figures; and for the use of each he gave proper

* There is a page here excessively perplexed in the latin copy, the construction unnatural, and several words which are not to be met with in good authors. The best has been made of it, that could be made by the translator.

priests vestments for some one, for others two or three as there was occasion for them. He bought two great bells, the lesser called George, the greater St. Colme; he procured another greater named Maryford, which he left his successor.

As to buildings; we have already mentioned the parish churches he raised, and the houses and chapel which he built in the isle of Clony and their ornaments, and the church of St. George with its ornaments. He farther built from the ground, the west wing of his palace at Dunkeld, and a handsome private chapel adjoining to it. He also built the south wing of his house at Edinburgh; he raised from the foundation Kinvaid house, and the isle of the church of the Carmelite friars at Tulilum, and repaired the west wing, and the two galleries of the house. And last of all he began a stone bridge over the water of Tay, near his palace, and he saw an arch of it finished in the year 1513.

It was this year that Henry VIII of England declared war against France, and sent as ambassadors to James IV, Lord Dacres, and Doctor West dean of Windsor, with great promises, if he should give up the French alliance. On the other hand the French promised a subsidy, and the assistance of a body of troops, but these articles they never performed. Upon the faith of these promises king James enters England, takes Norham castle, where he to no purpose waited fifteen days for the French, at the end of which time the Earl of Surry, the king of England's general, offers battle, and it was accepted of. The king and many of the nobility were killed, and among them many of the bishop's friends. The battle of Flodden happened on the day before the nativity of the blessed virgin, in the year 1513. Upon his father's death James V, a child of seventeen months, was crowned at Stirling, on St. Matthew's day the same year.

At this time the bishop, being worn out with age, and broke with grief, on account of the distresses and anarchy of his country, found himself besides tormented to death by that disease called the fell gravel. It was then he told me in secret that he found his prayers had been heard, because he had feared God with his whole heart; for he told me it was his daily petition, that he might have great torture of body for some time before his death.

He every year wrote his Will with his own hand, one of which was in this form: 'I commit my soul to God, the glorious Virgin, and St. Colme.—All the share of St. Colme's Patrimony which falls to me, I bequeath for the support of the church and bridge of Dunkeld, and for the maintainance of the poor, and I constitute the Chanter or Archdeacon, and official, my executors.' But as he was very infirm, he called his chaplain into his bed-chamber, and in the month of Aprile, 1514, he caused Mr John

Thomas, a notary, make his will in form of a disposition, which he subscribed with his own hand. In this Will he left his successor, in the event he should be named by the Pope, the furniture of every kind which belonged to the palace of Dunkeld; for when he was promoted the palace had no sort of furniture. He left two copies of this Will, one of which was committed to the Prebendary of Alith, the other to me. During his summer residence at Dunkeld, he gave himself entirely to prayer and meditation, only at times he amused himself by looking from his chamber window at the Bridge work, one arch of which had been finished before winter, by which time his weakness was much more sensibly felt.

It happened about this time, that Queen Margaret, Henry VIII's sister, whom the late king had left guardian to his son, and who had been for some time owned as such, that she married Archibald Earl of Angus, without advising with the great men of the kingdom. Upon this there was a convention of the states at Dunfermline, where it was declared that she had forfeited her right; and the illustrious John Duke of Albany was unanimously chosen regent and guardian to the young king. Yet, after all, the Earl of Angus had such interest, that many men of great rank stood by the queen. But the rest were against her, the leaders of whom were, the Chancellor James Archbishop of Glasgow and Alexander Lord Hume. From these divisions great factions arose, but as the queen was on the spot, her great aim was that no place should be disposed of without her consent.

But to return to our story: these divisions having procured indemnity for great crimes, WILLIAM M'PATRICK, M'ALISTER, M'ROBERT, M'DONOQUHY, otherwise WILLIAM STROWAN, having got together his own clan, and such other ruffians as would join with him, he insolently committed great outrages, and most unmercifully oppressed such as depended upon the Earl of Athol, which he did with the greatest ease, because the Earl himself was at that time in the north. The bishop wished well to this man, on account of his connection with the family of Glammis, yet his way of life was such, that he thought it his duty to send messenger upon messenger to warn him of his wicked courses. But being grieved at his want of success, and having a desire to oppose the Regent's approach, and being vexed that his age rendered him incapable for thwarting the oppressors of his country; for these reasons, and for change of air, he visited the convent of Carmelites, at Tulilum.— And there, having called his executors, he put in our hands a box, containing in money, and in securities for debts, a thousand merks, and we, at his desire, lodged it with the Prior of the Charter House.

Having properly finished this business he returned home, and on the day after

St. Nicholas's day, he presided at a meeting which he had called of the Chapter. Having dismissed this meeting, and governing his family well, as the apostle says, by the advice of the Dean, he appointed four keepers of his palace, with the necessary attendants. These four were the parsons of Caputh, Alith, Loncief, and Ferdischaws; and he recommended to them to obey the Dean and Chapter, whenever by his death the see should become vacant. He ordered his nephew, the archdeacon, to keep house at Kinvaid, where he, his sisters, and other relations were to pass the Christmas days. He himself, and his family resided in the Castle of Clony, as being a place more suitable to his rank, besides being a place of some strength. This place he used to call the 'Key of the See of Dunkeld.'

But old as he was, he would not have retired here, if it had not been that John Stewart, son of Sir John Stewart of Stouixis had carried off by force, as was said, his niece Dame Marjory Johnson, widow of Sir John Rattray of that ilk; she was carried to the Highlands; and as the Earl of Athol had not, unsolicited, sent her back, he was greatly disobliged at him and the Countess, tho' in other things, he was upon very good terms with them.

It passes belief, how much this accident, concurring with the gravel and an excessive thirst, hastened his death. It was for retirement in this time of distress that he betook himself to the Isle of Clony, where he celebrated our Lord's nativity with great decency, tho' his thirst was so excessive that it was with great difficulty he could say mass.

Within a week after Epiphany he was much worse: on Saturday, January 12th, 1514, he orders me to have every thing ready the next day for the Sacraments of the Eucharist, and of extreme unction, for that he desired to communicate on the Lord's day. His orders were obeyed. Next morning, before six, I heard his confession, and as he much grieved for his sins I gave him absolution in form, and said mass, and gave him the communion. He got some sort of rest this day, but none thro' the night. About midnight he gets out of bed, has himself decently clothed, sends for James Henderson, his barber, and has his beard dressed. It happened that one M'Kay had been executed the day before: God be praised, says he, I will dye with more decency than M'Kay has done. He was again undressed, and put to bed to get some rest. He had been a stout man, and upon any distress, it was not his custom to lye all day in bed, but he always got up, at least for some time of the day, that he might hear mass; at which he had on such linen, and such other parts of dress as were suitable to the service in which he was engaged.

About six next morning, he calls for me, (whom he had made his vicar in this

affair,) for Mr James Fentoun, and for the Archdeacon George Fern, his nephew, and with great devotion he applied for extreme unction. In our address to him, we put him in mind of the passion of Christ, and of the other articles of our faith; we especially reminded him of that expression of his patron St. Martin: 'I will not refuse to live, and yet I am not afraid to die.' He told us with a distinct and clear voice, that Christ came to the world, and suffered death, and he recited every other article of our faith; professing that he believed these articles, and always would believe them, without any evasion, as became a Christian bishop, and this he did in spite of the devil, and of all his temptations.

Then he entered a solemn protest to this purpose. That as he was at that time of a sound mind, and firm in the faith; if, afterwards thro' bodily weakness, he should be tempted by the devil, or by the arguments of designing men, and perhaps, (which God forbid,) should in some degree turn aside from the faith, therefore he entered his protest, that he might not be judged of by what he did then, but by what he had proposed when he had been of a sound mind. Further, that he did not lay a stress upon his own righteousness, but submitted himself entirely to God, and had no hopes for salvation but thro' the death of Christ, and thro' the intercession of his patron, St. Colme, and of the blessed virgin Mary. Upon all which a protest was taken, by his family chaplain and his clerk for the time Mr Thomas Brown, vicar of Outhergavin, before us the fore-named witnesses and Mr John Tyry, vicar of Crawmund, and before these proprietors of the adjoining lands, John Cargil of Kinloch, John Blair of Haltoun, David Scrimger of Fordill, John Stewart of Arntully, Walter Bannerman of Killibrochan, Robert Brown of Fordale, John Moncur of Balwery, John Rattray of Luch-hill, Thomas Brown, Surgeon, Burgher of St. Andrews, and many others.

As soon as this protest was taken, I began to administrate extreme unction, the archdeacon holding a box with the chrism, and the chanter a vessel with holy water. At the singing the psalms, I and my assistants having sung one stanza, the bishop and his chaplain sung another, as distinctly as if he had been in health, except that the force of his disease stopt his breath so that he could not speak so fast as we did; and therefore he requests his chaplain to be somewhat slower, and thus we had his own assistance in administrating extreme unction. Then mass was celebrated devoutly, and the bishop, in his ordinary way, read the prayers, and, as we thought, he heard every thing with great joy upon his countenance. Having heard mass he took a cordial and began to rest till mid-day. Then the cough and defluxion threw him into agonies, but so desirous was he of cleanliness to the last, that

with his own hands he kept all his face clean. Being stopt by the cough, he with a low voice, prayed without intermission to a crucifix which lay before him. After this we said the prayers which are used when a man is at the point of death: we put a consecrated candle into his hand, upon receiving of which he recommended his soul to God, and said, 'Into thy hands, O Lord,' &c. The cough continuing, we said the penitential Psalms, the Gospel, and the Rosary of the blessed Virgin; and when he had almost been suffocated, for we looked upon him as dead, he raised his two hands, and looking at the crucifix, he muttered a prayer with great devotion. Then he put up his hand, closed with it his eyes, crossed his breast, and slept in the Lord, on Monday, January 14th, 1519, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the second year of the reign of James V. There continued with his body Robert Brown, and his other faithful servants. As to his relations, they were employed in securing his trunks and other effects.

Before I enter upon the life of his successor, it will be proper to give some account of the illustrious and worthy brethren of the chapter during this period.

The first who claims our notice is the Dean, who is still alive. His life is a mirror to all the deans of the kingdom, against which the enemies of the church cannot prevail. At eleven of the clock, by certain vicars of the quire, he caused mass be celebrated every day, at the altar of the blessed virgin: and besides his daily charity, he once a-week caused distribute a boll of meal among certain poor men belonging to the city of Dunkeld. In the time of a great famine, he caused make pottage to be given in abundance, to every poor man who begged, and this whether he was at home or not; and when it was his turn to wait on the cathedral, no solicitation of his friends was sufficient to make him be absent; and when he was at Dunkeld, he was always present at high mass: on other days he directed the quire, at morning, noon, and evening prayers; and what is more, during the whole time of lent, he was never absent from the prayers said at midnight; as he was a good man himself, he chose to give an example of devotion to every other person. When the preaching friars set about the reformation of that order, upon the motion of that great and wise provincial of the order, John Ade, Professor of Divinity, they were greatly assisted by Dean Brown; for he founded an establishment at St. Andrews for five friars of that order, and this foundation still bears his name. I must not pass over, that upon the bishop's death, in the Dean's absence, the Chapter chose a Vicar general and official, for the charge of souls. But when the dean appeared he laid his claim upon this office as his due, who was the first person of the chapter. Upon this clai Walter Leslie, prebendary of Menmuir, who had been chosen to

this office, he yielded it, in the presence of his brethren, to the dean, as being the person of greatest dignity. While the see was vacant, he directed every thing so well, that you could not think it empty, but to be filled by the best of governors. With regard to the spiritualities of the church, he made a rule, with consent of the Chapter, and then he extended it to the temporalities, which was, that there should be no innovation, and that the forest, marches, effects, and other rights of the church should be preserved in their present condition, till they should be provided of a bishop.

With the assistance of the great canons, he called a head court, where all the vassals attending, he fenced it in the house of Petarum, near the palace. Upon his beginning to recommend the queen's right and the peace of the country, one JOHN, who acted as engineer for the bishop elect, (of whom we will say more by and bye) throws some cannon shot from the palace, at the place where the dean and court was met, threatening to do worse if the dean did not give over exercising a jurisdiction which did not belong to him.

However the dean finished the business he was upon to the advantage of the church, as became a resolute brave man. He then took the advice of the chapter, as to what was to be done upon the great insult offered them. By their advice, he caused * cite John before one commissioned to judge in this affair: from him he obtained a declaration that John came within the description, of those whom the pope excommunicates for interrupting the jurisdiction of the church, which interruption is unjust in itself, and declared by all our lawyers to be contrary to law. John not answering to his citation, was found contumacious, from which sentence he caused enter an appeal, and in the mean time is excommunicated, and every day the process had a more unfavourable look, tho' they had great evidence of his obstinacy, and wicked intentions. John neither obeyed the sentence of the church nor prosecuted his appeal, and all they could do, as men fearing God, was to disapprove of his behaviour. For John every day would enter the church, sometimes by himself at other times in company with the bishop elect. There was a total interruption of the services from St. Nicholas day till Palm Sunday. There was no attendance upon sundays or saint days, no vespers, matins or canonical attendance, and no mass of any kind. Upon a complaint, a king's messenger brought order for him to obey the church, to give up the steeple which he kept out contrary to the

* There are two or three sentences here very perplexed, of which there could nothing be made without supplying several words, and altering the construction.

inclinations of the dean and chapter; and thus he was forced to allow canonical attendance, not for fear of God, but of the law: as to repentance, and absolution, he never concerned himself about them. I had it in my power to say much more to the advantage of this worthy dean, but I draw back, that I may not lye under the imputation of flattery.

The chanter James Fentoun was for his sagacity appointed chamberlain, house steward, and private secretary to bishop George. With the bishop's leave he gave the church a fringed white damask cope, and hood, with figures of saints sewed on gold. He founded two chaplainries in the parish church of Perth at the altar of Mary of consolation, where he made a table, benches, and ceiling all of handsome carved work. He caused throw down the old chanter's house, and upon a plot of ground before it, he built another, which when finished, will be quite sufficient for his family, and he covered it with that sort of slate called scailie; he also built the cloister of the canons, Mr Robert Boswell having finished the offices belonging to that manse. At Perth he kept up a large family of his relations in a creditable way, he was the stay of the poor, whom he supported with a liberal hand. He was so good a man, that he had the praise of every body.

Mr GEORGE BROWN a near relation of the bishop's was chancellor, and rector of Kinnell. He was of a fine appearance, of great prudence and application to the business of life, and a decent religious man. His discretion was such in the management of the bishop's affairs at court, that it recommended him to the illustrious James duke of Ross, archbishop of St. Andrews, and the king's brother. By the king's consent he was made chamberlain to the see of St. Andrews, and would have been raised to higher preferment if death had not prevented it. This man did in no way neglect the business of his soul, tho' embarrassed with worldly affairs. For in honour of our lady of consolation, he erected in the church of St. George, a scholastic chaplain, and head master of a grammar school. The church may expect many good grammatical scholars from this establishment, if it is kept up. He gave the church a silk cope of the same colour with the chanter's but of a better quality.

The treasurer was Mr Walter Small, vicar of Tulilum, a man of great decency, of a good life, and the best writer of his time. He found his manse in the Highland manner, but he repaired it so handsomely, that except the dean's, it was the best house belonging to any of the canons.

The archdeacon was Mr George Fern, the bishop's nephew. Upon his return from beyond seas he had a dispute about this office with John Carwenal, an eng-

fishman, of whom he got the better. He repaired and painted the chapel and vestry, for which he made an entirely new window. He gave a fringed cope of white damask with sewed figures. He gave out that he was to erect at Dunkeld a chaplain in honour of the blessed virgin St. Anne, but his spirits being broken, by his uncle's death, he now says that it is at St. Andrews he proposes to do this.

The subdean and dean of the chapel royal was Mr DAVID ABERCROMBY, a very grave and learned man. On this account bishop Brown designed to make him commissioner general, and dean of the whole diocese. Before the second fell in, he had a very small income, and yet he lived decently upon it. As he himself was descended from a great family in the highlands, such people as were cited to do penance, for fornication, adultery, incest, from that quarter, put him in mind of their relation, in hopes of being the more tenderly dealt with. To insinuations of this sort the subdean made answer, that as they were his relations, he for love to their souls would use a severer correction with them than with others. Upon hearing this, they gave up all claim of relation, and did penance rather before others, than before him.

The subchanter Mr DAVID BALBIRNY, was the bishop's relation by the mother's side, he was a devout man, and a kind hearted social entertaining companion. From love to St. Thomas the martyr, he adorned St Stephen's altar with several gowns; he gave it also a missal on a large parchment manuscript. It is said he founded an anniversary festival.

The prebendary of Fonghort was Mr DAVID MELDRUM rector of Blair in Athol, a learned good man. He presented to the altar of Dunkeld two chalices silver gilt, two silver phials, and a pot adorned with the image of St. Colme, his guardain saint. He besides adorned the shrine of St. Colme, in the parish church of St. Andrews, and he did many more good works.

Tho' Mr Thomas Lyn prebendary of Ruffel had the least benefice belonging to the church, yet he always kept a good house and was very liberal to the poor. He left money for an annual festival, which as long as he lived, was very well kept, by the vicars of the quire. He was succeeded by Mr David Wauchop, licentiate in the common law, who built the manse from the ground; and if he lives it is hoped he will do many more good works.

The prebendary of Cragyne was Mr John Young, vicar of Dron, principal commissary official at St. Andrews, licentiate in the canon law, a learned man, a good critick, very affable, and therefore beloved by every body.

The prebendary of Caputh Makkathall was Mr JOHN LACOCK, vicar of Megill,

senior canon and a very worthy man. Tho' the profits of his benefice are small, he keeps a large family, and sets off his table by his chearfull obliging manner; he built the manse from the ground, and left a yearly rent of twenty shillings to the chaplainry, which his uncle John Lacock founded at St. Andrews.

The prebendary of Menmuir was Mr WALTER LESLIE, rector of Blair in Athol, and commissary general of the diocese, noble by birth but much more noble by his eloquence and wisdom. He closed in with a stone wall the manse ground, which before had been waste. He built all the houses upon it, and made a very pleasant garden. He was a very hospitable man, and gave money and victuals liberally to the poor. He gave the church a blue fringed damask cope with sewed figures. He beautified the altar of St. John the baptist with silk curtains, with priests habits, and with a brass candlestick. He himself was a just man, and by his justice he kept order in the church. For the salvation of the souls of him, and his, he instituted the vicarage of Blair, and it is not doubted but he will do many good works after this.

The prebendary of Crieff was Mr ALEXANDER MONCRIEFF, he received the manse belonging to this prebendary, which had formerly been occupied for bishop George's use, and built a new closs.

The prebendary of Forgandyny was Mr WALTER BROWN, official of Dunkeld, bachellor of divinity, and chaplain to the virgin, (save us from the pains of hell!) He was made precentor to the quire upon the resignation of Mr John Myrtoun. But he died before Mr Myrtoun, and had no profit from that benefice. He was my very good master, for I was three years his clerk, and notary. He was a sincerely religious man, learned in the canon law, and of exemplary devotion; for he often said his first prayers at midnight, and always celebrated mass very early. Having then heard high mass, he spent the rest of the day in judging, studying, reading law or divinity. He always had reading at his table, was a very hospitable man, no low wit or scandal were admitted to his table, but their entertainment was seasoned with pleasantry, and good humour. From love to St. Salvator he presented the altar of St. Martin, priests habits, a silver gilt chalice, hangings, and he had given much more, if death had not prevented him. But a good life generally has a good end, for one day after having celebrated mass to St. Salvator, he was seized with a high fever, called his brethren, had his testament made in form and named executors: he divided his effects among his relations, the poor, and consecrated places. He called for his confessor and made confession with great deliberation, and had the sacraments of the eucharist and extreme unction administered to him. In his last moments he clapped his hands, and cried out in our common dialect thrice, "wely,

wely, wely ;” and having crossed himself, and said “into thy hands, &c.,” he expired. After his death his executor gave a certain additional yearly income, to the altar of St. Salvator, and with consent of the bishop and chapter, he obtained leave to have an anniversary celebrated by the priest of that chapel. He left his books to the chapter.

Mr WILLIAM LINDSAY, prebendary of Inchmangro, vicar of Newtyle, repaired and almost rebuilt his manse.

The prebendary of Mukkersy was Mr WILLIAM IRLAND, vicar of Forteviot, of great learning in the canon law, and of an exemplary behaviour. He was afterwards made prebendary of Menmuir, and commissary general of the diocese. He repaired the manse and other buildings handsomely, tho’ they were not of stone. But he did better, for at his own charge he educated some good men, such as the much esteemed Mr Robert Irland, doctor of laws, and reader in ordinary, another was vicar of Forgandyny, another chaplain of St. Salvators, and many more whom he got preferred, as soon as they were found worthy of it. If his days are prolonged there is no doubt of his doing much more good.

The prebendary of Alyth was Mr THOMAS GREIG, a devout man, and zealous for the decency of the service. In his housekeeping he imitated the highlanders who keep open table, but it was more by his economy than by the profits of his living, that he was enabled to support this hospitality. He bestowed handsomely upon the church. His uncle of excellent memory Mr John Donaldson, licentiate of the canon law, and chancellor of Dunkeld, had raised an altar to All Saints. This altar Thomas Greig caused paint, gave it vestments and other necessaries. He caused make a silver cup of great weight, and a white cope equal if not superior to the chanter’s. From the rents of his town and country estate, he appointed a vicar of the quire, for saying mass at canonical hours. He kept strict discipline, and was the determined punisher of offenders, whether they were laymen, or clergymen. By his discretion in correcting, he rooted out some very bad practices, that prevailed in his deanship of Athol and Drumalbane. There was a certain person who pretended to be dumb, and who by nods and signs made them believe he discovered all things past and to come. He checked him so effectually, that he caused him to speak, and to confess openly, in the presence of the bishop and clergy, that the devil had tempted him to those tricks. And as he found him tractable, he prudently reconciled him to the church. After the bishop’s death he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, and tho’ he was above sixty he returned in good health. As he was a man of great attention to good works, the bishop to reward his zeal, made

him prebendary of Ferdischawe, and within a year, and before he had got possession of that benefice, which had not then opened, he made him prebendary of Alith. His temper was somewhat passionate, but after all he was a kind hearted man.

The prebendary of Ferdischawe was Mr John Stevenson, organist, and musick master, was a good man, and it was by the interest of the above named prebendary of Alith, that bishop George bestowed upon him the living of Ferdischawe.

He repaired the old house which the bishop gave him near St. Georges church, the offices of that manse he built handsomely from the ground, and tho' he had been often absent from matins, when he was chaplain of Inver, by the indulgence of the chapter for his age, yet when he became a canon he was seldom away.

After the greater canons, who elect the bishop, it will not be amiss to give some particulars, concerning the lesser canons, who always attend upon their masters, who bear the heat and fatigues of the day, and who for doing so much, and having so little for it, deserve to be ranked before the ordinary chaplains of the kingdom. These lesser canons are,—

Mr STEPHEN YOUNG, advocate of the consistorial court, a chorister of great knowledge, and experience, and who by temper, and constitution was a most agreeable companion.

Mr JOHN PENNICUICK, chaplain of Tullipowry, was learned in grammar, logic, philosophy, musick, and the canon law. He was the prop of the quire, upon which he attended most diligently ; he kept a good house, and is much respected by us all.

Mr ALEXANDER RICHARDSON, an honest man, and a good landlord. He educated promising young men at his own expense ; some for monks, some for priests, and others for the service of the quire, as he found they had a turn. He was diligent in his attendance at the quire, and at mass was of exemplary devotion.

Mr WILLIAM LACOCK, chaplain of Rattray, a decent man, and who gave great attention to the courts of law. He was at great pains to repair such houses as belonged to him, which had been in ruins if it had not been for him.

Mr JAMES LAWDER, one of the chaplains of Abernite, advocate of the consistorial court, a virtuous modest decent young man, and who honoured the virgin in a particular manner. He was much beloved for being so obliging to his superiors, and for the more than ordinary sweetness of his temper.

Mr WILLIAM MARTYNE, chaplain of St. Catharines, a good man, and a good musician ; and his brother John, the priest, a devout young man, and of great simplicity of heart ; and to his skill in grammar he added a good life, and great diligence in his office.

Mr PATRICK GARDINER, another of the four chaplains of Abernithie, a kind landlord, and one who had greater neatness in dress, furniture and table than any other of the poorer canons. He was devout and of an open temper for he spoke always from the heart. On account of his knowledge of the Irish, and his good character he was depute penitentiary.

Mr THOMAS BETTOUN, chaplain of Mukliri, an easy pleasant man. He had great execution in musick, and had a voice which he could tune to any key, he also studied it as a science, he was the support and great ornament of the quire. He honours the virgin, promotes her interest, and hates sloth. His furniture is handsome, and he has a turn for gardening.

Mr ALEXANDER FAIRFOULE, a good grammarian, has made cases of conscience his study, and therefore is reckoned a good confessor. He is steady and ever firm in his behaviour. It is from the chapel of Abernithie he supports his family.

Mr JOHN MARTYNE, rector of Loyd, JOHN LESLY, chaplain of all saints, and WILLIAM SCHERAR. These three priests were born at Dunkeld, have great knowledge of musick, and from their youth have been in use to direct the quire.

Mr FINLAY SYMSON, clerk of the consistory court, a very honest and skilfull writer. He is one of these men whom neither reward, or intreaty, love, or hatred, can put out of the right way. He does not aim at gain, he strictly aims at doing his duty.

Now I return to my subject. When bishop George was a dying, the report at Dunkeld was that he had already been dead. At that time was there, the illustrious father of his country John earl of Athol, the son of earl John brother to king James II. The earl called the canons, and requested of them to make choice of his brother Andrew, prebendary of Cragyne, and in the mean time to put the episcopal palace in his possession, and as some of the canons were his relations, and others were afraid for themselves and effects, therefore they without delay, agreed to grant all that was desired. After the bishop's funeral, they met in the charter house and appointed a day for the election, and ordered a public edict to be read, for calling together the absent canons.

* Upon which day by the earl's interest Andrew Stewart his brother tho' not yet in full orders was unanimously made choice of for the office, and recommended for confirmation. This affair went on the more easily, that the earl was very powerful and could defend every body belonging to the church from plunderers of every kind. Notice of this translation was sent to France, to John duke of Albany lately appointed regent, but he refused to meddle with the great church benefices,

* The translator is in doubt about the meaning of this passage, owing in part to his inacquaintance with the particular forms used in elections of this kind.

till after his return to Scotland. He landed in the west in May, 1515, and Andrew by his brother's interest got into his good grace and had for answer, that he would give him the king's warrant for raising the bishop's rents, as in his present situation he could not raise them in the ordinary forms of the courts of law; and the dean following the common law had reserved the fruits, till the bishop had been confirmed.

The queen was at Perth, when notice was brought her of the late bishop's death; therefore, by the advice of such counsellors as were of her side, she, in name of the king, caused recommend to this office, the illustrious Mr Gavin Douglas, provost of St. Giles in Edinburgh, rector of Hawick, and uncle to the earl of Angus. This was a man of genius, of great skill in divinity, and in the canons of the church; by the queen's solicitations, or, as others say, by the king of England's he was promoted to the see of Dunkeld by pope Leo, X. and therefore being cited for acting against the laws of the land, he was found guilty and banished by the unanimous voice of his judges. The see was declared vacant, he was committed to the custody of the venerable father in Christ, John Hepburn prior and vicar general of St. Andrews. He was kept in prison for more than a year, first in the castle of Edinburgh, then in the castles of St. Andrews, of Dumbar, and in Edinburgh again.

The queen took this matter so much to heart, that she entered into terms with lord Hume the chamberlain. By this agreement the king and Alexander duke of Ross, his brother, were to be trusted to the queen's management at the stated time, the chamberlain sent to Strevling castle, and at the sametime an army got together at Peblis. Upon this the regent sets off for Peblis with the lords and great men of the kingdom, and he sends lord Flemyng to Streveling castle, which the king and his brother had not yet given up, to their mother. Immediately after this, the queen, her husband the earl of Angus, and the lord chamberlain, entered England, where they continued untill they had made up matters with the regent. By an article of this agreement, Gavin provost of St. Giles' was set at liberty. And the chancellor pleaded for him so effectually that the regent was reconciled to him, and the chancellor upon his own charges consecrated him at Glasgow, and over and above gave him some presents.

After his consecration he first visited St. Andrews, on michaelmass week, and then the church of Dunkeld. The first night he was very affectionately received by clergy and laity, who all praised God for so noble, so learned, and so worthy a bishop. He published the bulls at the great altar, gave his blessing and lodged at the deans house, as he had no access to the palace, which with the steeple, Andrew Stewart's servants held out for him, and they refused to deliver them in their masters name, alledging that they did all by the authority of the regent. On this ac-

count he was forced to have the service of God performed in the dean's house. To this place he called the canons, and received their homage, and it wa swith their whole heart they yielded him homage ; on the other hand the bishops swore to keep all the statutes of the church. After dinner he consulted the gentlemen and clergy who were with him, what course he ought to follow in that conjuncture. Some advised him to send notice to the regent, others would have him go in person.

In the midst of these consultations they are informed that Andrew Stewart was in arms, with a design to relieve those who held out the palace. That instant a shower of cannon shot came from the steeple and palace. Then all the people of rank hurried to the bishop's defence. These were the worthy dean, James Lord Ogilvy, David Master of Crawford, Colin Campbell of Glenurquhar, Lord Kinfauns, the prebendary of Alith, and many other churchmen. Notice is sent of these transactions to the bishop's friends in Angus and elsewhere : upon which the next day there came such crowds from Montross, from the low parts of Fife, and the country round about, that the city could scarce hold them. But for all their number the prebendary of Alith had laid up such abundance of every thing, that there was room and provisions for all the men, and also for their horses.

The bishop elect, not having it in his power to relieve those who held out the palace and steeple, is forced to retire to the woods. Then bishop Douglas, on his side, summoned them to surrender, under pain of excommunication. For fear of this threat, partly by force, partly by stratagem, the steeple was put into the possession of James Carmichael, of some prebendaries, and of the bishop's family. This put the people in the palace in great fear : they obtained a truce and a suspension of the excommunication for some hours ; but after that time they were still unwilling to surrender, however, by the merits of St. Colme they gave up the palace without bloodshed.

Upon this the Earl and his brother went to court to complain of what had been done, the bishop went also to defend himself. For some time there were mutual accusations. However, by the wisdom of some of the counsellors they agreed upon these terms : That Andrew Stewart should retain all the bishop's rents he had raised, and should also have the churches of Alith and Cargill, upon condition of paying some chalders of victual to the bishop.

From this time the church and the whole province had peace ; and though the bishop was loaded with debts he yet gave himself to good works. His first work was the bridge, one arch of which his predecessor had finished, and his executors drove the piles for other two ; bishop Douglas continued this work. And upon receiving two hundred and forty pound from bishop George's executors, the work was

brought the length that all foot people had an easy passage. His other good works, spiritual and temporal, I leave to the pens of the higher canons.

What follows is taken from archbishop Spotswood's History of the Church and State of Scotland, and some old manuscripts :

George Crichton succeeded: a man nobly disposed and a great housekeeper, but in matters of his calling not very skilled. In questions of religion, which, in his time, was severely agitated, he loved to have things calmly carried, but his counsel took little place. It was he that said to one of his vicars, whom he was persuading to leave off his opinions, 'That he thanked God he knew neither the Old or New Testaments, and yet had prospered well enough all his days.' 1522.

Robert Crichton, his nephew, was preferred upon his death to the See, in whose time fell out the reformation of the church. 1559.

Bishops of Dunkeld after the reformation were, 1572, James Paton; 1603, Peter; 1607, James Nudeson; 1639, Alexander Lindsay; 1662, George Haliburton; 1665, Henry Guthry; 1688,

It is informed that the old abbey or convent was built with red freestone, part of which are still to be seen in the middle of the east gable of the quire, and that a part of the abbey remained for publick worship, from the time of expelling the Culdees till the building of the church.

It is said that the Cathedral and quire were demolished by the English army, by an order of the Earls of Murray and Argyle to John Stewart of Airtilly, bailie in the place, anno 1559; which order is still extant in the laird of Cairday's charter chest.

It is informed, that the quire was repaired and new roofed, covered with blue sleates, by Stewart of Ladywell, in the year 62. 1662.

Bishop Sinclair's statue, and severall other statues, both in church and quire, were destroyed by Angus Cameronian's regiment of foot, 21st August, 1689, who also burnt all the pews and seats, except the pulpit and session table. On the side of bishop Sinclair's marble stone, Michaell Monimusk, chamberlain of Scotland, was buried in 1376, but there is no monument above him.

On the south side of bishop Sinclair lyes Alaster More Mc'an Ri, where the statue is as large as life, all in armèur and a lyon at the foot. The inscription round it is thus: 'Hic jacet Alexander Senescalus Filius Roberti Regis Scotorum, et Elizabethæ Moræ, Dominus de Buchan et Badenoch qui obiit,' &c.

Lithgow, to his noble Meccenas.

If thou acceptest of my penne, my goodwill
Is also a sacrifice: though the style be plaine,
the matter is good: If any fault be committed
impute it, to my present sickness, & bodily default.

Vive, Vale.

By
William Lithgow
in
his Countreys behalf

Go prostrate Lyned; greet thyne Sippollous herse,
Also, thy selfe alyth, Lykd, Lobd and read, my Verse.

SCOTLAND'S TEARES

BY

WILLIAME LITHGOW,

IN

HIS COUNTRYES BEHALF.

LITHGOW, TO HIS NOBLE MECENAS.

**IF THOU ACCEPTEST OF MY PANES, MY GOODWILL
SHAL BE A SACRIFICE ; THOUGH THE STYLE BE PLANE
THE MATTER IS GOOD : IF ANY FAULT BE COMMITTED
IMPUTE IT TO MY PRESENT SICKNES AND BODELY DESEASE.**

Vive, Vale.

SCOTLAND'S TEARES.

Thow quelling bird, that courts Meanders brooks,
Where silver swans, accoast six hundreth crooks ;
Out of thy dyeing wing, send me a quill,
Dip'd in Penneian springs, from Pindus rill ;
To moyst my sun-scorched veyne, with liquid drops,
Which flow from Soron, twixt the forked tops ;
The Nymphs I cite to ayde, Let them infuse,
Sweet Demthen rills, their Heliconean Muse ;
I sing the saddest verse ere Poet wrot,
Since that my Virgin wombe, first bred a Scot :
Now launch I forth, now gush my watery plaints,
And shivring come, as one through grief that faints :
Loade with the spoyles of sorrow, I complayne
All other woes, compar'd with myne, seeme vane ;
Onely salt teares, which from my bowells flow
Shall restles runne, and let the Ocean know
My dyre distresse : Such clouddy accents wold
Have larger scope, than hembd-in Regiones hold.
Me thinks a murmring noyse, drawes from the South,
Post, post, he comes; the horn roynds in his mouth ;
The spurres are prest, the horse bends o're my bounds,
The boyes lips do quiver ; Death, Death, he sounds
The sound strikes through my heart. O dysmall day !
That waxd so proud, of such a Princely prey ;
Death, packet-seald, my cheeffest Citty entered,
The Lords it ope, wsd Liberty so venterd :
Grim Death's disclosed, they weeping close their eyes,
Their greefs dividuat, seeme but one disease :

SCOTLAND'S TEARES.

He flat downe falles, the other speechles stands,
 One teare-strick blynd, another wrings his hands ;
 The rest distracted, all passion-rent bewry
 In deep-drawne sighs, Man's fate, King's destiny ;
 One warbling voyce chirps out, one playnes how Death,
 Had robd, great JAMES, his high imperiall breath :
 This Eccho smote the hills, the hills rebounded
 Back on the vayles : the Rivers deadly wounded
 Fled to the Belgick deeps : The seas retourne
 Their sinking Loade, and swore the Land should mourne.
 Then groveling on the ground, half dead, I rose
 And closd, within myne armes, these bosome woes :
 Thus sighing sayd I, is my Souveraigne dead,
 Or shall I want, my Ruler, and my head
 My Sone, my Father, and my Lord, was he,
 That crownd my fortunes, I, his Pedegree :
 MY VALOUR, WAS HIS STRENGTH, HIS LAW, MY LOVE,
 MY DEEDS, HIS RIGHT, MY LOYALL FAITH, HIS DOVE :
 Betweene a King, and Kingdome, never Nation
 Had such respondence, nor such immutation.
 But now I listen, whence the Message comes,
 That Me, unto eternall mourning doomes ;
 Englands two Deaths, hath robd me twyse, one Prince,
 The last, as worst, for ever, takes him thence.
 What ! shall I censure ? that my Sisters Sin,
 This judgement did procure ; the lyke hath bin,
 That kings for subjects suffer : Tymes allow,
 That people for their Prince, are punished too :
 Or can I cleare my self, and guiltless be,
 Of this desaster ; Heavens best judge, and see ;
 But how soe're, we both, are cause, or either,
 That we have lost, so just, so good, a father,
 Myne intrest, in my right, exceeds far more,
 All others losse, than Milleons can deplore :
 I from a never-conquerd race, forth brought him,
 And kept him long, till other kingdomes sought him :

I plac'd the glory, on his Diademe,
 Which his Ancestors, wore, and wonne, with fame.
 Who from one hundreth six, of noble Kings,
 His Pedegree, unviolat, he brings ;
 What Countreye, in this universe can boast ?
 Of such a Stock : though now my Prince, seems lost ;
 And yet not Lost, but changeth Earth, for Heaven,
 The oddes are his, my fortunes left uneven :
 And yet Heavens Verdict, wele foresaw, allone,
 He should not fare, to that triumphant Throne :
 Three best belov'd, with Loves entire I knoe,
 Did challenge Death, they dye, away they go ;
 As Harbingers to Heaven : They sute as freends,
 The Court Hierchall ; done, their journey ends.
 Two Lennox Dukes, kynd brother, after brother
 Made way before ; each gloryeing in another ;
 As if they had contended, to make haist,
 To welcome there, their owne IMPERIALL Guest.
 Than Hamilton fell next, my second Sone,
 Prickd with desyre, his course, he quickly runne ;
 Lyke to the Star, that leads the Moone, so he,
 Did post before, made way for Majestie.
 Last came their King, the King of Mercy, met him,
 And by his throne of glory, downe he set him :
 High Alleluhiae sung, the Angells joyed,
 To see his sprit, from hence, so wele convoyed ;
 For they had saved him, in all fearefull seasons,
 From powder-plots,, conspiracies, and treasons ;
 STILL LOVD HE PEACE, AND SO HE PEACE POSESST,
 HE LIVD IN PEACE, IN PEACE, HIS SOULE, DOTH REST.
 His Subjects, that the Orient Coasts have trode,
 Who livd secure at home, as safe abroad ;
 Their PEACE, he fastned, to the furthest INDE,
 Where travayles reachd, or ships could sayle by wynd :
 What mighty discords, jarres, and forrane broyle,
 Did he appease, and spard, no cost, nor toyle ;

SCOTLAND'S TEARES.

He father-lyke, still quenched all Kingly Ire,
 And made his aged yeares, old EUROPS Syre :
 Since Salomon, a wyser King ne'er raigned,
 Nor whom the Learnd, and Learning more sustaynd :
 In Memory unrpased, in Airts excelld,
 In Oratrie, a Prince unparalelld ;
 Whose sacred temples, knit with Delphian bayes,
 Gaynd him, a Kingly Poet; Poets prayse.
 His Justice, fraught with Mercy, blesd his spirit,
 And liberall, he was, beyond Mans merit :
 The widdowes, orphanes, and poore men oprest,
 In him fund ayde, and in his justice rest :
 This long devyded Ile, he joynd in ONE,
 And made this Britane orbe, one Albion :
 In him, surceassd, the Irish warres, and THEY,
 By him, wer taught, a Sovraigne, to obey :
 And for to setle, that Estate the better,
 Made large plantations, thousands came his debtor.
 Of late, my second Scotia he erected,
 And Collonies t' America directed.
 What gift, or grace, did Nature, e're adorne,
 To which my mighty Monarch was not borne.

But now prodigious signes, portend my losse,
 See how the surges ryse, the waters tosse
 The seas presage a fall, their swelling streams
 Do threat my coast : now violent extremes
 Turne rage in madness : and the waves at hand
 Seeme weary, and would rest them, on the land :
 They swallow up my works, and lyke to theves,
 Are seldome quyet, when their nyghbour grieves ;
 I runne, and I adjurd them to recite
 The cause of their disorder ; they hurling sit
 On trembling tops, and by a tumbling show,
 Presayd, that Death had stroke the fatall blow.
 The clyme, the season fits, the Tyme, was one
 Their fury, in, my Souraignes Death, is gone.

O day of darkness, covert of my woes,
 Whence melancholy floods, of sorrow flowes,
 My wracks erected; the clouds profoundly wept
 Fyve dayes and nights: The Sunne as clossely kept
 His course obscure: The thundering wynds forth broke
 As if they meant to shake some mighty oak:
 Mens harts were loade with greef, their eyes with teares,
 Are gushing spoyled; their myndes o'recome with fears,
 These elementall sygnes, foretold what losses
 Death would produce, fraught with desastruous crosses:
 My Darling dyes, my State declynes, and I,
 My grievous plaints, in darker kynds, must dy;
 A dolefull widdow, wrapd in sable vales
 I must remane, true mourning there bewayles:
 But see my Nobles post, looke how they tracd,
 To Isis banks, where his sad herse is placd;
 There to attend the corps, which they so tender,
 More due, and duty, Death, they could not render;
 Nor is he dead, whose better parts remane,
 The Sunnes ne'er set, but for to ryse agane;
 He did not so, assume, to leave the earth
 Voyde of his Vertues, spoild of royall birth;
 But in his Phenix ashes, there should spring
 Another PHENIX, for to be a KING;
 Lyke to old Phebus, drawing to the west,
 Seemd weary of his journey sought for rest;
 And left his second self, agane to ryse,
 In morning majestie, to face the skyes,
 And cheare the Elitropian leaves, that close
 Their mourning eyes, till Titans glory rose;
 And now my spotless faith, I plight thy sone,
 That never yet was staynd, nor never wonne
 My Mayden Crowne, thy image, he shall beare,
 Thou left him for to sweye thy Scepters here;
 PEACE, LOVE, and PITY were thy guerdons three,
 With THEM, thou raignst, now raignes eternally.

SCOTLAND'S TEARES.

**Farewele Monarchick SAINCT, let Legions tend Thee,
As thou had Milleones, here for to defend THEE.**

FINIS,

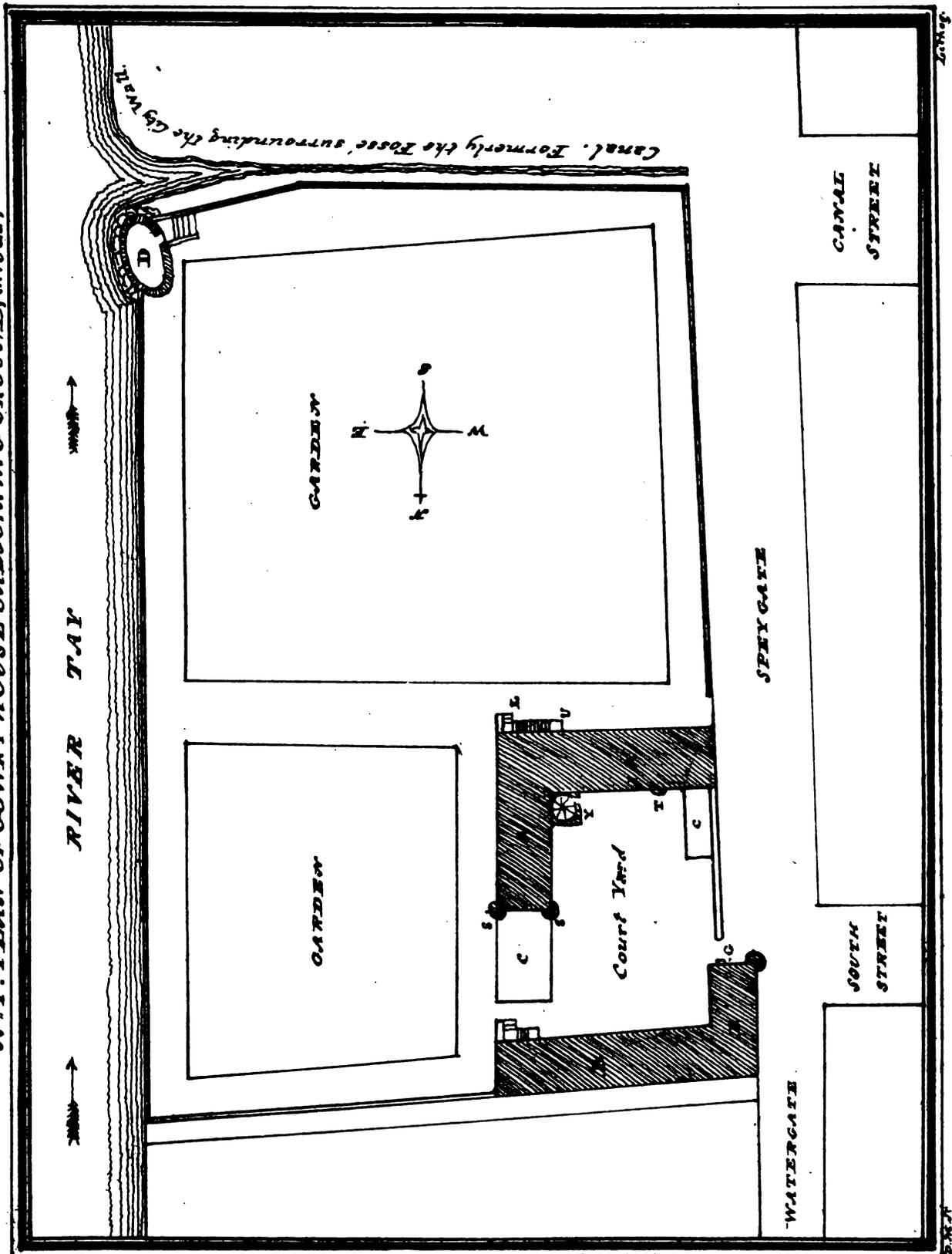
By WILLIAM LITHGOW,

In his Countreyes behalf.

**Go prostrat Lynes, greet thyne Appolloes herse,
Who, whylst alyve, lykd, lovd, and read my verse.**

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE
ON THE
GOWRY CONSPIRACY,
WITH
PLANS OF GOWRY HOUSE.

N. 1. PLAN OF COWRY HOUSE ADJOINING GROUND, in 1866.



THE GOWRY CONSPIRACY.

So numerous have been the disquisitions written, and treatises and pamphlets printed, on the subject of the mysterious transactions which occurred in Gowry House at Perth, in the month of August, 1600, that had they but elucidated or determined *one* fact each, the "Gowry Conspiracy" had, ere this, been one of the most luminous events in Scottish history. Unfortunately, the writers on this subject have not hitherto divested themselves of the feelings of party in their investigations, and, with the exceptions of Principal Robertson and Mr Pinkerton, have advanced to the enquiry, convinced, and unwilling to be undeceived, on the one hand, that Gowry and Ruthven fell victims to "King Craft," or on the other, that king James did indeed make a wonderful escape from a bloody and traitorous conspiracy. Thus the question remains nearly in the same state, or if possible still more dark, than when the cautious Scot replied to his Majesty's account of it, "a very wonderful story your Majesty, *if it be true.*"

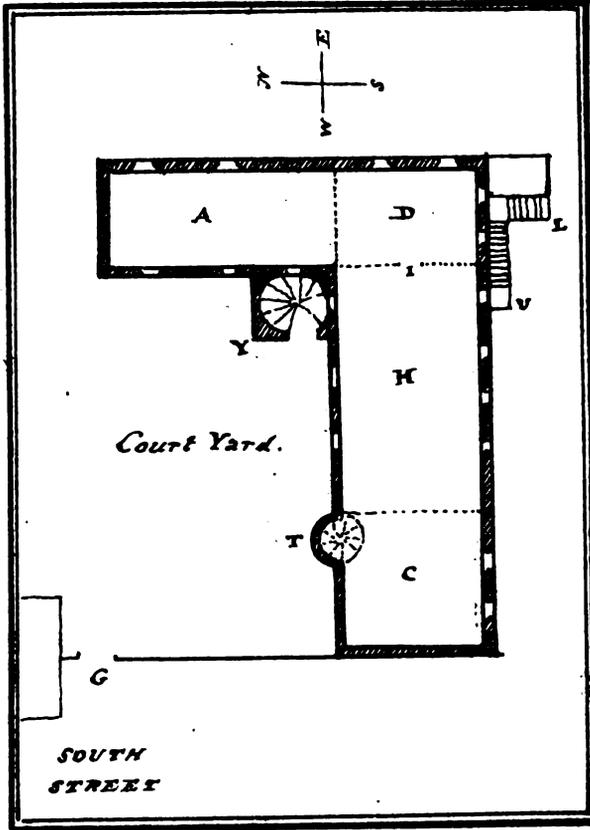
The investigations which have been entered into by Gowry's friends, or more correctly, the criticisms which have been made by them, on the king's account and the depositions of the witnesses, have been confined to the detection of some apparent contradictions in the statements, or to the more summary course of denying *in toto* the veracity of the "Discourse," as it was called, and the credibility of the witnesses: while those who advocate the king's cause, know that he was so incapacitated by nature from engaging in any enterprise requiring the exercise of personal courage, that they will not give themselves the trouble of sifting the evidence, or of replying to the objections of their opponents. It still remains therefore to sum up that evidence; and in order to do it impartially, it is necessary to have before us a PLAN of the building and the apartments in which the affray took place.

The residence of the Earl of Gowry, referred to in the historical documents connected with this transaction, stood a short distance within the walls of the city of Perth, at the south east angle of the town, at the south end of the Watergate, and east end of the South Street. In the year 1807, the property then belong-

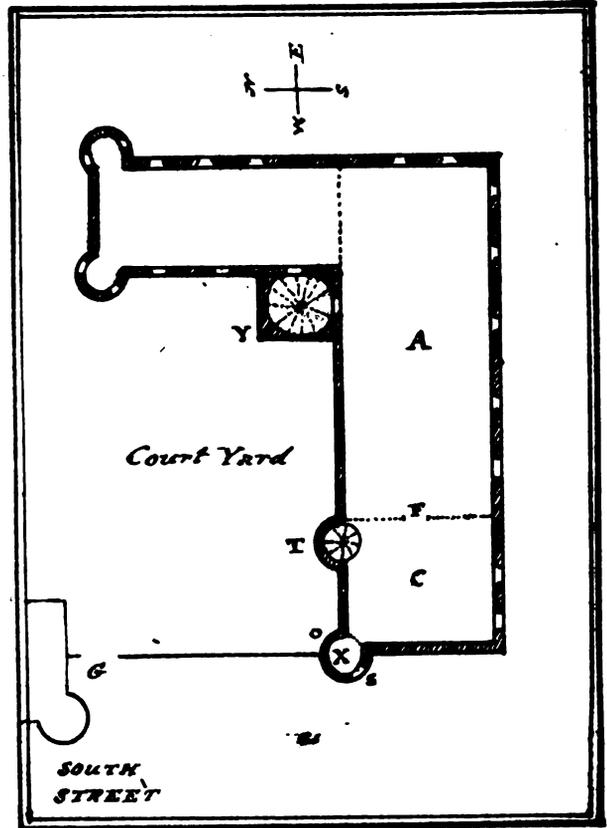
ing to the town, it was, with a disregard to historical predilections which an antiquary never can forgive, razed to the ground, to make way for the Prison and Public Buildings of the County. There were however views and plans taken of it by Dr. M'Omie, of which the kindness of that gentleman's friends has enabled us to avail ourselves. From these plans, aided by our own recollections, corroborated by the testimony of others, such outlines are annexed of the position of the house, and of its apartments, as may assist in obtaining a distinct idea of the situations of the various actors in the tragedy of the 5th of August.

The house, or palace as it was often called, stood as already noticed, and as may be seen in the Plan No 1, near the junction of the Watergate and South Street, (or Shoegate as it is designated in the depositions of the witnesses on the trial), a short distance from the Tay, which river formed the eastern boundary of the large garden, pertaining to the house. In the south-east corner of the garden stood the Monks Tower D, and to the westward, rather beyond the place on the plan where the words "Canal Street" are written, stood the Spey, or Spy Tower, a strong fort which guarded the south-gate of the city, but which had been pulled down many years before the plan was drawn. The wall of the city extended in a line nearly due west and east from the Spey to the Monks Tower; and there is reason to believe that at the time of the King's memorable visit to Gowrie House, the greater part of the ground between the South Street and that wall was laid out as gardens, adjoining respectable houses, in the same manner as the garden to the southward of Gowrie House. The house itself formed nearly a square. The most modern part was on the north and west B B. The most ancient, and that in which the affray took place was on the south and east of the square A A. The principal gate G, fronted the South Street. The buildings C C, were merely temporary sheds erected for the service of the artillery, to which corps the building had served for barracks, for some years previous to its demolition. The principal staircase Y, was at the south east angle of the court. There was also a smaller staircase at T, called in the depositions the Black Turnpike, which, as well as a Turret at the west end of this wing of the building, had been removed about the beginning of the last century, but of which vestiges were apparent when Dr M'Omie's plans were drawn. The frontispiece to this volume, (presented by Francis Grant, Esq. under whose inspection the drawing was made and engraved from Dr M'Omie's sketch,) represents the building as seen from the South Street at the time the ground plans were taken. The gate at G, the Turrets S S, the principal staircase Y, &c. will be readily recognized on comparing the plan with the view.

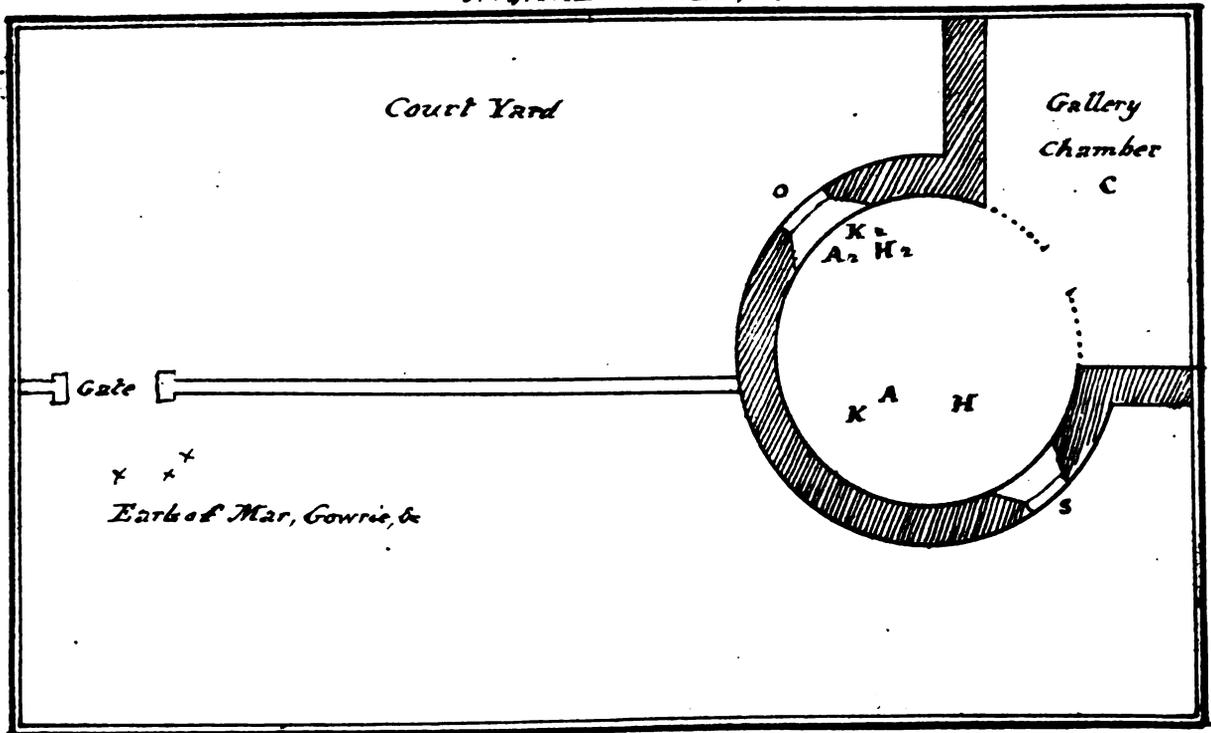
N: 2. FIRST FLOOR



N: 3 SECOND FLOOR.



N: 4. THE TURRET, 'X.'



The principal building A A was of two stories or floors, besides the kitchen or ground floor, and attics. The family apartments and bed-rooms were chiefly in the eastern division, A D, (see Plan No. 2), and were surmounted on the north by two turrets.* The dining-room was at D, (Plan No. 2,) the windows of which looked into the garden and commanded a delightful view of the scenery on the river. The principal hall H, was very lofty and spacious, and communicated directly with the staircase Y, and with the dining apartment D. There was also a door at U leading by a flight of steps, U L, to the garden. What use was made of the apartments on the first floor C, at the upper end of the hall H, does not appear.

The greater part of the second floor, (see Plan No. 3,) was occupied by a Gallery A which extended over the whole of that part of the building occupied on the first floor by the hall and dining-room above mentioned. This "Fair" gallery is frequently noticed in the course of the depositions. It had been ornamented and enriched with paintings, and other works, by the first Earl of Gowrie, whose attachment to the fine arts had not only been remarkable in that age, but would have done credit to more modern times.

At the west end of the Gallery was the GALLERY CHAMBER C, so often referred to in the depositions, which was divided from the Gallery by a partition and communicated by a door in that partition. There was a stair at T, leading from this chamber down to the court, called in the depositions the *Black Turnpike*. There was also a Turret X, communicating with the gallery chamber, in which, (if the windows were placed in the same manner as in the other turrets which were entire when the views were taken,) there would be one window at O, and another opposite it at S. These minute circumstances require to be noticed, as they are of importance in examining the evidence.

As the present enquiry does not extend to any parts of the transaction, but such as took place within the house, or in its immediate neighbourhood, it does not appear necessary to insert here the whole of the evidence.† Much of it respects the previous conduct of the Earl, his habits and opinions. All such portions of it, together with the King's own account and the subsequent depositions of Sprott, are at present wholly laid aside. Our present enquiry is simply how far the statements made by eye-witnesses are confirmed or refuted by local circumstances:

* One of these turrets was latterly pointed out to strangers as the scene of the affray—but this, as will subsequently be shown, could not have been the case. In Cant's Notes to Galla Gablens the removal of the *real* turret and staircase is mentioned as having recently taken place.

† It will be found more complete in PANTON'S Account of the Gowry Conspiracy, published in a small 8vo volume, at Perth, in 1812, than in any other work.

The most material evidence is that of Andrew Henderson, who affirmed he was with the King and Alexander Ruthven when they were closetted together. This man was twice examined; first at Falkland, and afterwards on the trial at Edinburgh. His depositions follow at length along with those of the Duke of Lennox, and others.

Apud Falkland, 20th August, 1600.

In presence of the Lordes Chancellor, Treasurer, Advocate, Controller, Sir George Home of Spot, and Sir James Melvil, Knights.

Andrew Henderson sworn and examined, and demanded, what purpose was betwixt him and the Earle of Gowrye, upon Munday at night, the fourth of this instant, in the sayde Earle's chamber: depones, that the Earle inquired of him, what hee would be doing upon the morne? and he answered, that he was to ride to Ruthven: The Earle said to him, You must ride to Falkland with Maister Alexander my brother, and when hee directs you backe, see that ye returne with all diligence, if he send a letter or any other advertisement with you.

Depones, that the Maister directed him to send for Andrew Ruthven to be in readiness to ride with them the morrow at four houres in the morning.

Declares, that they coming to Falkland about seven houres in the morning, the Maister stayed in a lodging beside the palace, and directed the deponer to see what the king was doing; and the deponer finding his majestie in the close coming forth, he past backe and told the maister, who immediately addressed himselfe to his highnesse, and spake with his majestie a good space beneth the equirie: and after his majestie was on horse-backe, the maister cometh to the deponer, and commands him to fetch their horses, and bade him haste him, as he loved my lord's honour and his, and advertise my lord, that his majestie and he would be there incontinent, and that his majestie would be quiet: And the deponer inquiring of the maister, if he should goe presently, he did bid him leap on and follow him, and not goe away untill he spoke with the king: and the maister having spoke with the king at a breache of the park-wall, he turned backe and bade the deponer ride away; and the deponer making his return in all possible haste to Saint Johnstoun, he found my lord in his chamber about ten houres, who left the company he was speaking with and came to the deponer, and asked, hath my brother sent a letter with you? The deponer answered, No: but they will be all here incontinent, and bade the deponer desire my lord to cause prepare the dinner. Immediately thereafter, my lord took the deponer to the cabinet, and asked him, how his majestie took with the maister his

brother? The deponer answered, very well, and that his majestie laid his hand over the maister's shoulder. Thereafter my lord inquired, if there were many at the hunting with the king? The deponer answered, that he took no heede, but they who were accustomed to ride with his majestie, and some Englishmen were there, and that my lord inquired what special men were with his majestie, and that the deponer answered, he did see none but my Lord Duke. And within an houre thereafter, when the deponer came in from his owne house, the Earle bad him put on his secret and plaitte-sleeves, for he had an Hylandman to take; which the deponer did incontinent; and about twelve houres, when the deponer was going out to his own house to his dinner, the stewart came to him and told him, that George Craigengelt was not well, and was laine downe, desired him to tarry and take up my Lord's dinner: and about half an houre after twelve, my Lord commanded him to take up the first service. And when the deponer was commanded to take up the second service, the Maister and William Blair came into the hall to my Lord.

The deponer remembreth himselfe, that Andrew Ruthven came before the Maister a certain space, and spake with my Lord quietlie at the table, but heard not the particular purpose that was amongst them. And so soon as the Maister came to the hall, my Lord and the whole company rose from the table; and the deponer hearing the noyse of their forthgoing, supposing they were going to make brecks for Maconilduy; and seeing my Lord pass to the Inche and not to the Shoegate, the deponent did cast the gantlet in the pantry, and caused his boy to take his steele bonnet to his own house: and he followed my Lord to the Inche, and returned backe with his Majestie to the lodging, being directed to get drink. And the Maister came to the deponer, and did bid him cause Maister William Rynd to send him up the keye of the gallery chamber; who past up and delivered the keye to the Maister; and immediately my Lord followed up and did speake with the Maister, and came downe againe, and directed Mr Thomas Cranstone to the deponer, to come to his Lordship in his Majestie's chamber. And that my Lord directed him to go up to the gallerie to his brother; and immediately my Lord followed up, and commanded the deponer to bide there with his brother, and to do any thing that he bade him: the deponer inquired at the Maister, what have ye to do, Sir? The Maister answered, 'Yee must go in here and tarry till I come backe, for I will take the keye with me. So he locked the deponer in the round, within the chamber, and took the keye with him. Shortly thereafter, the Maister returned, and the King's Majestie with him, to the saide cabinet in the rounde; and the Maister opening the doore, entered with the king into the sayde rounde; and at his very entrie, cover-

ing his heatl, pulled out the deponer's dagger, and held the same to his Majestie's breast, saying, 'Remember ye of my father's murder? Yee shall now die for it:' and minting to his Highness's heart with the dagger, the deponer threw the same out of the Maister's hand: and swore, that as God shall judge his soul, if the Maister had retained the dagger in his hand, the space that a man may goe six steps, he would have stricken the king to the hilts with it: but wanting the dagger, and the King's Majestie giving him a gentle answer, he sayde to the King's Majestie, with abominable oathes, 'that if he would keepe silence nothing should aile him, if he would make such promise to his brother, as they would crave of him:' and the King's Majestie inquiring what promise they would crave: he answered, 'that he would bring his brother.' So he goes forth, and lookes the doore of the round uppon his Majestie and the deponer; having first taken oathe of the king that he would not crie, nor opene the windowe.

And his Majestie inquiring of the deponer, 'What he was?' He answered, 'a servant of my Lorde's,' and his Majestie asking of the deponer, 'if my Lord would do any evil to him?' The deponer answered, 'As God shall judge my soul, I shall die first.' And the deponer pressing to have opened the windowe, the Maister entered, and said, 'Sir, there is no remedy, by God you must die:' and having a loose garter in his hand, pressing to have bound his Majestie's hands, and the deponer pulled the garter out of Mr Alexander his hands, and then the Maister did put one of his hands in his Majestie's mouth, to have stayed him to speake, and helde his other arme about his Majestie's necke, and that this deponer pulled the Maister's hand from his Majestie's mouthe, and opened the window; and then his Majestie cryed out thereat; whereuppon his Highnesse's servants came in at the gate, and this deponer did runne and open the doore of the turnpecke head, whereat John Ramsay entered: and the deponer stode in the chamber untill he did see John Ramsay give the Maister a stroke, and thereafter privily conveyed himself downe the turnpecke to his own house: and the deponer's wife inquiring of him, what the fray meant? The deponer answered, 'that the King's Majestie would have been twice sticked had not hee relieved him.'

Further, the sayde Andrew Henderson depones, That after his returning from Falkland, on the fifth of this instant, Maister John Moncrieff inquiring of him where he had beene? He answered, that he had beene beyond the Bridge of Earn; and says that he gave that answer to Maister John, because my Lord had commanded him to let no man know that he was to ride to Falkland: and that my Lord's di-

rection to him was, to come backe with his brother Maister Alexander's answer : and to leave Andrew Ruthven to awaite upon the Maister.

Further, the sayde Andrew Henderson depones, That, when he had taken the Maister's hand out of the King's mouth, and was opening the windowe, Maister Alexander sayde to him, wilt thou not helpe, woe betide, thou wilt make us all die.

The Parliament was summoned to meet at Edinburgh, on the first of November, for the Trial. But being repeatedly adjourned, it was the 15th of the month, before they proceeded to adduce evidence.

Depositions at the Trial.

THE DUKE OF LENNOX, sworn and examined, depones, that upon the fifth of August last by-past, this deponent, for the time being in Falkland in company with his Majesty, he saw Mr Alexander Ruthven speaking with his Grace before the stables, betwixt six and seven in the morning ; and shortly thereafter, his Majesty passing to the hunting of the buck, and having slain one in the park of Falkland, his Highness spake to the deponent, desyring him to accompany his Majesty to Perth, to speak to the Earl of Gowrie. And incontinent thereafter, this deponent sent his servant for another horse, and for a sword, and lap on and followed his Grace : and as this deponent overtook his Grace, Mr Alexander Ruthven was speaking with his Majesty ; and shortly after the deponent's coming to the king, his Highness rode apart, and spake with this deponent, saying, ye cannot guess, man, what errand I am riding for ; I am going to get a pose in Pearth : and Mr Alexander Ruthven has informed me, that he has fund a man, that has a pitchard full of coined gold, of great sorts. And in the mean time, his Highness enquired of this deponent, of what humour he thought Mr Alexander to be of? who answered, that he knew nothing of him, but as of an honest discreet gentleman. And after that his Highness had declared to this deponent, the hail circumstances of the man who had the said gold, the place where it was kept ; this deponent answered, I like not that, Sir ; for it is not likely. And they riding beside the bridge of Erne His Majesty called to the deponent, that Mr Alexander disyred him to keep that matter of the pose secret, and take no body with him ; and then his Highness both at that time and afterwards at St. Johnstoun, within the Earl of Gowrie's hall, said to this deponer, take taint where I pass with Mr Alexander Ruthven, and follow me. And as his Majesty was within a mile of Pearth, after that Mr Alexander had come a certain space with his Highness, he rode away and galloped to Pearth, before the rest of the company, towards his brother's lodging ; of purpose (as the deponent believes,) to

advertise the Earl of Gowrie of his Majesty's coming there ; and as his Majesty was within two pair of butt-langs to the town of Perth, the Earl of Gowrie, accompanied with diverse persons all on foot met his Highness in the Inche, and saluted him ; and immediately thereafter, his Majesty, accompanied with this deponent, the Earl of Mar, Inchaffrey, Sir Thomas Erskin, Laird of Urquhil, James Erskin, William Stuart, Sir Hugh Harris, Sir John Ramsay, John Murray, John Hamilton of the Grange, and John Graham Bagown, past altogether, in the Earl of Gowrie's hall : the said Earl of Gowrie, and said Mr Alexander Ruthven, being baith present with them : and after their entry, his Majesty cry'd for a drink, which was a long time a coming, and it was an houre after his first coming, before his Majesty got his dinner : and in the time that his Majesty got his desert, the Earl of Gowrie came to this deponent, and to the Earl of Mar, and remanent persons foresaid, and desired them to dine, which they did, in the hall ; and when they had near hand din'd, the Earl of Gowrie came from his Majesty's chamber to the hall, and called for wine ; and said, that he was directed from his Majesty's chamber, to drink his scoll, to my Lord Duke, and the rest of the company, which he did. And immediately after the scoll had passed about, this deponent raise from the table, to have waited upon his Majesty, conform to his former direction ; and then the Earl of Gowrie said to this deponent, that his Majesty was gone up quietly some quite errand : and then, the said Earl of Gowrie cryd for the key of his garden, and passed in company with this deponent, to the garden, accompanied with Lindores, and Sir Hugh Herries, and certain others : and shortly after their being in the garden, Mr Thomas Cranston came down to the garden, crying, the King's Majesty is on horse-back, and ridden thro' the Inche : and then the Earl of Gowrie cry'd horse, horse : and the said Mr Thomas Cranston answered to him, your horse is in town ; to whilk the Earl of Gowrie made him no answer, but cry'd ay, horse, horse. And this deponent and the Earl of Gowrie came first out of the garden, thro' the hall to the closs, and came to the out-gate ; and this deponent speir'd at the porter, if the king was furth, who answered, that he was assured that his Majesty was not come furth of the place. Then the Earl of Gowrie said, I am sure he is first always ; stay, my Lord, drink, and I shall gang up, and get the verity and certainty thereof : and the said Earl of Gowrie passed up, and incontinent came again to the closs, and he affirm-ed to this deponent, that the King's Majesty was furth at the back-gate and away. Whereupon this deponent, the Earl of Gowrie and Mar, and hail company, past furth at the fore-gate of the lodging ; and staid before the same gate upon the street : and as they were standing there, advising where to seek the king, incontinent, and

in the meantime, this deponent heard a voice, and said to the Earl of Mar, this is the king's voice, that crys, be whare he will : and so they all looked up to the lodging and saw his Majesty looking furth of the window, wanting his hat : his face being red, and an hand gripping his cheek and mouth, and the king cryed I am murdered ! treason ! my Lord Mar, help, help ! And incontinent, this deponent, the Earl of Mar, and their company, ran up the stair of the gallery-chamber, where his Majesty was, to have relieved him ; and as they passed up, they found the door of the chamber fast ; and seeing a ladder standing beside, they rasht at the door with the ladder, and the steps of the ladder brake : and syne, they send for hammers ; and notwithstanding large forcing with hammers, they got not entry at the said chamber, while after the Earl of Gowrie and his brother were both slain ; that Robert Brown past about be the back door, and came to his Majesty, and assured his highness, that it was my Lord Duke and the Earl of Mar, that was stricking up the chamber door ; and the hammer was given thro' the hole of the door of the chamber, and they within brake the door, and gave them entry : and, at their first entry, they saw the Earl of Gowrie lying dead in the chamber, Mr Alexander Ruthven being slain, and taken down the stairs before their entry : and at their first entry within that chamber where the King's Majesty was, the deponent saw sundry halberts and swords stricking under the door of the chamber, and sides thereof, by reason the same was nae closs door ; and knew none of the strickers, except Alexander Ruthven one of the defenders, who desired to speak with this deponent thro' the door, and speird at him, for God's sake tell me how my Lord of Gowrie was : to whom this deponent answered, he is well : and the said deponent bad Alexander to gang his way ; and that he was an fool ; and that he would get little thanks for that labour : and in the meantime, as they were continuing to strike with halberts under the door, meikle John Murray, servant to Tullibardin, was stricken throw the legg ; and how soon the said Alexander Ruthven had heard the said Lord Duke speak, he and his hail complices past from the foresaid door, and made no more trouble thereafter thereat, and passed down to the closs, and stood there. And saw none of the remanent defenders present, at the doing of the violent turns that day, except by report, but the said Alexander Ruthven : but says, that he saw Hugh Moncrieff, Earn, and Alexander Daithvenies, and Patrick Eviot, with the Earl of Gowrie at the king's dinner that day ; and that before and thereafter, looking over the chamber window, he saw George Craingelt, and Alexander Ruthven ; and did see others of the Earl of Gowry's servants, whom this deponent knew not, standing in arms within the closs : and also, saw other persons.

carrying an joist from the town, to the closs of the Earl of Gowry's lodging : and declares, that there abode sundry persons within the said closs, and in the High Street, before the said Earl's lodging, crying and making tumult, to the space of two hours, mair next after the death of the said Earl of Gowry and his brother.

THE EARL OF MAR, sworn and examined, depones, conform to the Lord Duke of Lennox's deposition, in all things substantial.

ANDREW HENDERSON, Chamberlain of Scoon, sworn, depones, That he is of the age of thirty-eight years, declares, That upon Munday at night, the fourth day of August last by-past, this deponent being, after supper, in company with the Earl of Gowry and Mr Alexander Ruthven, within my Lord's own chamber; the Earl of Gowry enquired at this deponent, what he had to do to-morrow? To whom this deponent answered, That he had to do, to ride to Ruthven, to speak with the tenants. Then the Earl of Gowry answered, stay that journey, you must ride to Falkland, in company with my brother, Mr Alexander, and take Andrew Ruthven with you; and that ye be ready to ride be four hours in the morning: and haste thou back with answer, as my brother orders you, by write or otherwise, and let Andrew Ruthven remain with my brother. And in the morning, after four hours, they rode all three together to Falkland; and coming to Falkland, they lighted at John Balfour's house, and seeing that Colonel Edmund was there, they lodged in ane Law's house; and the master sent this deponent about seven hours in the morning, to see what the King's Majesty was doing; and as he was within the place, he saw the King's Majesty coming forth mid-closs, booted; and then he returned back again to the master, and said to him, haste you, the King's Majesty is coming furth; and incontinent, the master followed his Majesty, and spake with his Highness foranent the ecurie, and the King laid his hand on his shoulder, and clapped him, where they spake together, be the space of an quarter of an hour. And thereafter, the master directed this deponent to ride to Perth in haste, as he loved the Lord Gowry's and his honour, and advertise his brother, that his Majesty will be there, with a few number incontinent; and cause make his dinner ready: then this deponent answered, Shall I ride presently? The master answered, No, but stay a while, and follow the king and me, while I speak with his Majesty again; and, as his Majesty was riding through the slap of the park-dike, the master spake to his Majesty; and immediately thereafter, the master bad this deponent to pass to St. Johnstown with all possible diligence, according to his former directions: and, at this deponent's coming to Perth, it was shortly after ten hours in the morning, he entered in the Lord of Gowry's chamber, where he saw his Lord speak with George:

Hay, and Mr Peter Hay : and how soon my Lord of Gowrie saw this deponent, he came aside to this deponent, and enquired secretly, what word he had brought from his brother ; and if he had brought a letter ? this deponent answered, that the master his brother bad tell his Lordship, that the King's Majesty would be there incontinent ; and bad haste his dinner. Then the Earl bad this deponent to follow his Lordship to the cabinet, and speird at him, how his Majesty had tane with his brother ? he answered, that he was well tane with ; and when he did his courtesy, the king laid his hand upon his shoulder. The Earl speird, what number of persons was with the king at the hunting ? who answered, that he knew not well ; but that there were sundry of his own with him, and some Englishmen. And then the Earl speird, what noblemen was with him ? he answered, none but my Lord Duke. And thereafter, this deponent past to his own house in the town, and took off his boots, and returned to the Earl within ane houre ; and how soon the Earl saw him in his chamber, he called upon this deponent, and bad him put on his secret* and plaitte-sleeves : the deponent enquired to what effect ? The Earl answered, I have ane Hylandman to take in the Shoegate ; and then the deponent past to his own house, and put on his secret and plaitte-sleeves, came backe again to the Earl of Gowrie's house : and about half an houre to one, the Earl commanded this deponent, take up my dinner ; and this deponent past, and took up the first service, by reason Charles Craingelt was sick : and, incontinent, the said Earl past to his dinner, accompanied with Mr John Moncrieff Laird of Pitcrief, Mr James Drummond, Alexander Peebles, Baron of Findowne. And shortly after the first service was set down, my Lord sitting at the table with the foresaid company, Andrew Ruthven came in from the Master, and rounded to the Earl, but heard not what he said ; and shortly after, this deponent passing down to take up the second service, Mr Alexander Ruthven and William Blair came into the Earl, my Lord sitting at his dinner ; and how soon my Lord saw them, he and his hail company raise from the table ; and then this deponent hearing my Lord on foot, bid this deponent send for his steel-bonnet and gantlet, believing that my Lord was going to take the sayd Hylandman : and as this deponent perceiv'd my Lord passing to the Inche, and not to the Shoegate, he sent home his steel-bonnet, and cast his gantlet in the pantry, and thereafter followed the Earl to the Inche, where he saw the said Earl with his Majesty, the Duke and the Earl of Mar, and came in altogether to the Earl's house ; and after his Majesty had come to the Earl's house, the Master of Ruthven speird at

* A Coat of Mail.

this deponent, whare the keye of the gallery-chamber was? who answered that he handled not that key since the Earl came in Soctland. Then the Master bid this deponent speak to Mr William Rynd to give him the said key. And the Master passing up to the gallery, Mr William Rynd followed him, and gave to him the said key : and thereafter, immediatly after his Majesty's down sitting to his dinner, Mr Thomas Cranstone came to this deponent, and bad him gang to the Earl of Gowrie ; which this deponent did. And the Earl of Gowrie, in the outer-chamber, where the king din'd, spake to this deponent secretly, and bad him pass to the gallery to his brother : so he passed up, and the Earl follows him ; and they being all three together in the gallery-chamber, (whereof he had the key from Mr William Rynd,) the Earl said to this deponent, tarry still with my brother, and do any thing he bids you. Then this deponent came to the Master and speird, what will you with me, Sir? then the master spoke to my Lord, let Andrew Henryson go into the round of the chamber, and I will lock him in, and take the key of the chamber with me : where this deponent abode half an hour or thereby, locked his allane, having his secret, plaitte-sleeves, sword and whinger with him, and wanting his steel bonnet. And all this time, this deponent feared some evil to be done : that upon this, he kneel'd and pray'd to God ; and about the end of the half hour, Mr Alexander opens the door of the room, and entered first within the same, having the King's Majesty by the arm, and putting on his hat upon his head, draws forth this Andrew Henderson deponent's whinger, and says to the king, having the drawn whinger in his hand, Sir, you maun be my prisoner ; remember on my father's death. And, as he held the whinger to his Majesty's breast, this deponent threw the samen furth of Mr Alexander's hands. And the time that Mr Alexander held the whinger to his Majesty's breast, the king was beginning to speak. The master said, haud your tongue; Sir, or be Christe, ye shall dee. Then his Majesty answered, Mr Alexander, ye and I were very great together : and as touching your father's death, man, I was but a minor. My council might have done any thing they pleased. And albeit ye bereave me of my life, ye will not be king of Scotland ; for I hae baith sons and daughters ; and there are men in this toune and friends that will not leave it unrevenge. Then Mr Alexander answered swearing with a great oath, that it was neither his lyfe nor blude that he craved. And the king said, what traiks albeit ye take off yere hat ; and then Mr Alexander took off his hat. And the king said, what is it ye crave, man, and ye crave not my lyfe? who answered Sir it is but a promise. The king answered, what promise? the sayde Mr Alexander answered, for, my Lord my brother will tell ye. The king sayde fetch hither yere brother, And syne

the sayde Mr Alexander sadye to the king, Sir, you will not cry, nor open the window, while I come again? and the king promised so to do. Then Mr Alexander passed furth and locked, and passed not from the door, as he believes. In the meantyme, the king entered in discourse with this deponent, how came you here, man? and this deponent answered, as God lives I am shot in here like a dog. The king answered, will my Lord of Gowrie do me any evil, man? this deponent answered, I vow to God I shall die first. And then the king bad this deponent open the window, and he opened the window that looked to the Spey-tower: and the king answered, fy, the wrong window, man! And thereafter, this deponent passing to the other window nearest his Majesty, to open the same; before he got to the window, Mr Alexander opened the door, and came in again, and said to his Majesty, by God! there is no remedy; and then he louns to the king, and got him by both the hands, having an garter in his hands. Then the king answered, I am a free prince, man; I will not be bound: so his Majesty cast loose his left hand from Mr Alexander; and at the same time, this deponent draws away the garter from Mr Alexander, and his Majesty louns free from the sayde Mr Alexander, and the sayde Mr Alexander follows his Majesty, and with his left hand about his Majesty's craig, puts his right neeve in his Majesty's mouth. So his Majesty wrestling to be quit of him this deponent puts his hand out of his Majesty's mouth. And thereafter, this deponent did put his left hand over his Majesty's left shoulder, and pulled up the broad of the window, whereunto the said Mr Alexander had thrust his Majesty's head and shoulders; and with the force of the drawing up of the window, presses his Majesty's body about, his right side to the window: at which time his Majesty cries furth, Treason! Treason! So the Master said to this deponent, Is there no help with thee? Wae worth thee thou villain, we all die. So twining his hand on the guard of his own sword; and incontinent, the King's Majesty put his hand on the Master's hands and staid him from drawing of his sword: and this ways, they both being grasped together, comes furth of the cabinet to the chamber; and, in the meantime, this deponent threw about the key, then standing in the door of the head of the turnpike, which entered to the chamber, and opened the door thereof, to eschew himself, and to let his Majesty's servants in; and how soon he opened the door, John Ramsay came in at the sayde door, with an haulk on his hand, and passed to the King's Majesty and laid about him, and drew his whinger; and as he saw him minting with the whinger, this deponent passed furth at the sayde door, and passed doune the turnpike. And as this deponent passed through the close, and came to the fore-gate, this deponent saw the Earl of Gowrie standing before

the gate accompanied by sundry persons, of whom he remembers none; but remembers well, that the Earl had this deponent's knapschaw, or head-piece, on his head, and two swords drawn in his hands: and incontinently thereafter, this deponent pass'd to his own lodging, where he remained while the king passed furth of the toune: and then the deponent past to the bridge and walked up and doune by the space of an hour, and returned not again to the Earl's lodging. And the time of his entry to his house that night, this deponent's wife enquired at this deponent, what trouble was within the place? to whom he answered, well is me of one thing, that if I had not been there, the king had been twice sticked this night: but waes me for the thing that is fallen oute. And this deponent being demanded by Mr John Moncrief, after his returning from Falkland, where have you been with your boots on? answered, he had been two or three miles beyond Earn, and durst not tell him the verity, by reason the Earl of Gowrie had discharged him to tell the errand, he sent him, to any body. And farther, this deponent declares, that when he saw the Earl of Gowrie standing with the drawn swords before the gate, this deponent spoke not to the Earl, neither yet the Earl to him at that time, but he passed to his own house.

The ABBOT OF INCHECHAFFREY, sworn and examined, deponed, in confirmation of the testimony of the Earl of Mar and Duke of Lennox.

The ABBOT OF LINDORES, sworn and examined, depones conform to the Lord Duke of Lennox in all things: *addendo*; That after dinner, when word was of his Majestie's departure towards Falkland, and that they had all together come down to the porter, and had enquired at him, Gif the King's Majestie was gone furth? The porter answered, He was not passed furth; and the Earl of Gowrie affirmed, That he was passed furth at the back-gate; and the porter said to the Earl of Gowrie, That cannot be, my Lord, because I have the key of the back-gate. And, after that his Majestie had cried furth of the window of the round, Treason! Treason! &c. this deponent saw James Erskine incontinent lay hands on the Earl of Gowrie upon the High Street; and immediately Sir Thomas Erskine gripped the Earl of Gowrie: fy, Traitor! this is thy deed: thou shalt die. Then the Earl of Gowrie answered, I ken nothing of the matter. Then instantly the Earl of Gowrie's men rugged the said Sir Thomas Erskine and James Erskine from the Earl of Gowrie; who incontinent ran the space of half an pair of butt-lands from them towards Glenurchie's house, and drew furth his two swords, and cried, I will either be at my own house or die by the gate: and incontinently thereafter the said Earl, accompanied with thirty persons, or thereby, passed within the said place, wherein his Majesty

was for the time ; and shortly after, the deponent, as appeared to him, saw a multitude of people carrying a joist towards the place.

SIR THOMAS ERSKINE, of the age of thirty-six years, sworn, depones, conform to the Lord Inchechaffrey, and Lord of Lindores : *addendo*, That immediately after this deponent heard his Majesty cry furth of the window of the round, Fy, help ! I am betrayed, they are murdering me ! He ran with diligence towards the place, to have helped his Majesty ; and before his entry, seeing the Earl of Gowry, the deponent and his brother gripped him by the neck, and said to him, Traitor, this is thy deed. Whilk Earl answered, What is the matter ? I ken nothing. Immediately the Earl's servants severed him from this deponent and his brother. And then this deponent entered within the close, he forgathered with Sir Hugh Harries, who demanded of the deponent, what the matter meant ; and in the meantime, the deponent heard Sir John Ramsay crying out at the turnpike head, fy, Sir Thomas, come up the turnpike, even to the head ! and, as this deponent had passed up five steps of the turnpike, he sees and meets with Mr Alexander Ruthven blooded in two parts of his body, viz. in his face, and in his neck ; and incontinent this deponent cries to Sir Hugh Harries, and others that were with him, fy, this is the Traitor, strike him ! and incontinent he was stricken by them, and fell ; and, as he was fallen, he turned his face and cried, Alas ! I had not the wyte of it, this deponent being standing above him in the turnpike. Thereafter, this deponent past to the head of the turnpike, and entered within the chamber at the head of the gallery, where the King and Sir John Ramsay was there alone present ; and, at the first meeting, this deponent said to his Majesty, I thought your Majesty would have concredited more to me, nor to have commanded me to await your Majesty at the door, gif ye thought it not meet to have taken men with you. Whereupon his Majesty answered to this deponent, Alas ! the traitor deceived me in that, as he did in the lave ; for I commanded him expressly to bring you to me, which he promised to me to do ; and returned back, as I thought, to fetch you, but he did nothing, but steiked the door. Shortly thereafter, Sir Hugh Harries followed the deponent into the chamber, and George Wilson, servant to James Erskine : and, immediately thereafter, Mr Thomas Cranstoun, with his sword drawn in his hand, entered within the said chamber ; and the Earl of Gowry followed him within the same chamber, with an drawn sword in every one of his hands, and an knapschaw on his head ; who struck at this deponent and his colleagues an certain space. Likeas, they defended them and struck again : and that same time, this deponent was hurt in the right-hand be Mr Thomas Cranstoun ; and this deponent heard my Lord of Gowry speak some words

at his entry, but understands them not. At last, Sir John Ramsay gave the Earl of Gowry an dead straik ; and then the Earl leand him to his sword, and the deponent saw a man ha'd him up, whom he knew not ; and how soon the Earl fell to the ground, Mr Thomas Cranstoun, and the remanent who accompanied him, departed and passed down the turnpike. And the deponent remembers, that, at that time, there were more persons in the chamber with the Earl of Gowry by Sir Thomas Cranstoun, but knew none of them, except he believes that an black man, that was there in company within the chamber, was Hugh Moncrief, brother to the laird of Moncrief ; but the deponent knows not well, whether or not it was Hugh Moncrief.

SIR JOHN RAMSAY, of the age of twenty-three years, or thereby, sworn, depones, That, immediately after he had dined, the day libelled, in the Earl of Gowry's house, he took his Majesty's haulk from John Murray, to the effect, that the said John might have dined : and the deponent missing his Majesty, and forgathering with the laird of Pittencrief, in the Earl of Gowry's hall ; and demanding of Pittencrief, where his Majesty was ? The laird first convoyed the deponent to the chamber where the King dined ; thereafter to the yaird, hoping that his Majesty had been there ; and missing his Majesty in the yaird, convoyed the deponent up to an fair gallery, where the deponent was never before ; where having remained a certain space beholding the gallery, they came both down to the closs, where they met with Mr Thomas Cranstoun in the midst of the closs, who said to them, That his Majesty was away upon horse-back, at the inch : whereupon this deponent and Pittencrief sindred, and the deponent passed furth of the gate to his stable, to have gotten his horse, and being standing at the stable door, he heard his Majesty cry, knew his Highness' voice, but understood not what he spake ; whereupon he comes immediately within the closs, and finding an turnpike door open, he enters within the samen, and runs up the turnpike, while he comes to the door upon the head thereof, and hearing an struggling and din of men's feet, he ran with his hail force at the door of the turnpike-head, which enters to the chamber at the end of the gallery ; the deponent having in the meantime his haulk on his hand, and having dung open the door, he sees his Majesty and Mr Alexander Ruthven in others arms, striving and wrestling together, his Majesty having Mr Alexander's head under his arm, and Mr Alexander being almost on his knees, had his hand upon his Majesty's face and mouth ; and his Majesty seeing the deponent, cried, fy ! strike him laigh, because he has an pyne-doublet upon him. Whereupon the deponent cast the haulk from him, and drew his whinger, wherewith he strake the said Mr Alexander, and immediately after he was stricken, his Majesty shot him down stairs, wherent this de-

ponent had entered: thereafter, this deponent addresses him to a window; and looking furth thereat, and saw Sir Thomas Erskin, the deponent cried, Sir Thomas, come up this turnpike, even to the head. In this meantime, his Majesty did put his foot upon the haulk-leash, and held her a long time, while the deponent came and took her up again: and then Sir Thomas Erskin entered. And in the rest depones conform to Sir Thomas Erskin in all points; and further says, That when the deponent first entered within the chamber, he saw a man standing behind his Majesty's back, whom he noways knew, nor remembers not what apparelling he had on; but after that this deponent had stricken Mr Alexander, he saw that man no more.

JOHN GRAHAM of Urquhill, sworn and examined, depones conform to the Lord Duke of Lennox and Earl of Mar in all things, *reddens eandem causam scientiæ*, adding, That this deponent, the time that he was at dinner in the hall with my Lord Duke and Earl of Mar, he saw the King and Mr Alexander pass thro' the hall up the turnpike towards the gallery: and, as this deponent, John Hamilton and others, were following, Mr Alexander cried back, Gentlemen, stay, for so it is his Highness's will.

JOHN GRAHAM of Balgowne, of the age of fifty years, or thereby, married, depones, conform to the Lord Duke in all things, adding, That this deponent, the day libelled, after the death of the Earl of Gowry and his brother, and hearing his Majesty report, That Mr Alexander pressed to have bound his Highness's hands with a garter; this deponent found a garter at the cheek of the round door among the bent, and immediately thereafter this deponent presented the garter to his Highness: and at the sight thereof his Majesty said, That the same was the garter wherewith Mr Alexander pressed to have bound his hands; and then Sir Thomas Erskin griped to the same garter, and said, That he would keep it, which he has yet in keeping.

ANDREW ROY, one of the Bailies of the burgh of Perth, was at the dinner in the hall, and corroborated the foregoing evidence, particularly as to what passed at the gate, and described his activity in raising an alarm in the town.

ROBERT CHRISTIE, Porter to umquhile, John Earl of Gowry, of the age of thirty years, *solutus*, depones, That he was Porter to the Earl of Gowry, the fifth day of August libelled: sicklike, he was by the space of five weeks of before. And shortly after the dinner, this deponent saw my Lord Duke, the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Gowry, come to the close; and my Lord Duke speir'd at this deponent, If his Majesty was passed furth of the close? The deponent answered, that he was not furth. Then the Lord of Mar said, Billy, tell me the verity, if his Majesty be furth or not?

And he answered, In truth, he is not furth. The Earl of Gowry looking with an angry countenance, said, Thou lied, he is furth at the back-gate, and through the Inche. Then this deponent answered, That cannot be, my Lord, for I have the key of the back-gate, and of all the gates of the place. Thereafter, this deponent heard and saw his Majesty looking furth of the window of the round, and crying, Treason! Treason! fy, help, my Lord Mar! and incontinent my Lord Duke, the Earl of Mar, and others, ran up the stair of the turnpike to the gallery: and thereafter, the Lord of Gowry came from the High Street,* within the close, having a steel bonnet on his head, and a drawn sword in his hand, accompanied with Alexander and Harry Ruthvens, Patrick Eviot, and Hugh Monerieff, Mr Thos. Crans-toun, all having drawn swords in their hands, and passed altogether with my Lord up the old turnpike; but what was done within the house and place thereafter, knows not but by report: neither saw he any joist brought to the place by any of the town. And knows no more of the matter.

The rest of the depositions chiefly respect the disturbances in the court-yard and in the town, excepting that of George Hay, the Prior of Charter-house, who deponed as to the fact of Andrew Henderson having brought early intelligence from Falkland of the King's intended visit to the Earl.

From the preceding depositions, the following facts seem to be clearly established.

On the 5th of August, 1600, King James, after hunting, rode from Falkland towards Perth, in company with Alexander Ruthven. He was followed by the Earl of Mar, the Duke of Lennox, and other attendants: when within two miles of Perth, Alexander Ruthven rode forward and advised his brother of the King's approach, and the Earl, with various retainers, met his Majesty at the Inch, and accompanied him to the house, of which a description has been given. The King's purpose, however, had been intimated privately to the Earl of Gowry, by Andrew Henderson some hours earlier.

It was only one o'clock when the King entered the town, but the Earl had already dined, and the patience of his Majesty and the court seems to have met with a severe trial, in being obliged to wait for dinner, until the unusually late hour of

* The South Street, or Shoegate, is evidently meant in this and some other instances in the depositions, where the High Street is mentioned; what is now called the High Street being at a considerable distance from Gowry House. This confusion of names seems to have arisen from the circumstance of the South Street being one of the two principal or High Streets in the town.

two o'clock! The King dined in the room D. (Plan, No. 2,) his attendants in the hall H.

After dinner, the King, attended by Alexander Ruthven, left the room D, passed though the hall H, where his train were drinking their *scoll-cup*, to the staircase Y, which he ascended, still attended by Alexander. In the meantime, the Earl called for the key of the garden, to which he conducted his guests from the hall by the staircase U, L. While in the garden, Cranstoun, a friend of the Earl, came and informed them that the King was away to Falkland: upon which the Earl and his company returned through the hall to the court, (or close, as it is named in the depositions,) calling for their horses. In the court they were joined by Sir John Ramsay, and the Laird of Pittencrief, (one of the Earl's friends,) who, instead of accompanying the others to the garden, had gone up the stair Y, into the gallery A, (Plan, No. 3,) which they had spent some time in admiring.

On some doubts being expressed as to whether the King had gone away, the Earl asked them to wait while he went into the house to ascertain the truth of the report. They waited accordingly, while the Earl crossed the court and ascended the staircase Y. He returned in a short time, saying, that the King was indeed gone. One of them then enquired of the porter, whether the King had gone forth? To which he replied in the negative. On the Earl of Gowry asserting that his Majesty *had* gone away by the back gate to the Inch; the porter answered, that that was impossible, as he had the key of the back gate in his pocket.

While they stood debating, the King's voice was heard crying "Murder" and "Treason," and on looking up, (from the Street in front of the gate G, to the window in the turret O, Plan 3,) they beheld the King, his face flushed, and the hand of a man attempting, it seemed, to prevent his cries by stopping his mouth. To all appearance the King was *dragged* again within the turret.

On this the Earl of Mar, the Duke of Lennox, and others, ran across the court to the staircase Y, which they ascended, and crossed the gallery A, but found the door to the gallery chamber at F, locked. This door they endeavoured ineffectually to break open; and could gain no admittance until after the affray.

In the meantime Sir John Ramsay, who had also heard the King's cries, finding the door to the turnpike T, open, ran up that stair and gained the gallery chamber C, where he found the King and Alexander Ruthven struggling. He deponed, that he also saw another man in the room, but being so intent on rescuing the King, and obeying his mandate in striking Alexander with his "whinger," he did not take particular notice of his appearance.

The tragical events which followed—Alexander thrust down the turnpike T, wounded—his being met at the bottom of the stair by Sir Hugh Harries and Sir Thomas Erskine, and there slain—the Earl's attempt to reach the house, and its unfortunate result—the disturbances among the retainers of the two parties—the uproar in the town—it is not necessary to recapitulate. They were merely *consequents* of the affray in the turret, or "*round*," and take their colouring from the view that may be entertained of the motives of the parties in the tower. If the King took Alexander there in pursuance of a plan contrived at Falkland with his nobles for exterminating the family of Ruthven, the transaction is without a parallel in the annals of crime. On the other hand, if Alexander decoyed the King under false pretences to his brother's house, for the purpose of murdering him, the transaction would only then appear the less odious, inasmuch as the crime had drawn a just and immediate retribution on the heads of the devisers. Our present purpose is briefly to enquire, whether there were any *local* circumstances, taken in connection with the evidence, which render either or both of these suppositions improbable.

First; as to the murderous intentions of the King. If the witnesses were all perjured, and the plan had indeed been laid at Falkland, his Majesty and court must, at all events, have been well acquainted with the house in which they intended to perpetrate this most foul and unnatural murder: and could not be ignorant of the *Black Turnpike*, by which ready access was to be gained to the gallery chamber. It was strange, therefore, when the plot had arrived at that point where the King was to cry out "*Treason*" from the window, that the Earl of Mar, the Duke of Lennox, and the other most trusty friends of the King, should have *run away from* the readiest access to him, and have gone across the court to the principal staircase, where they were almost certain of being encountered by some of the retainers of the Earl! It was not more strange, that this should have taken place, than that Sir John Ramsay, a page, almost a boy, should have been the only person* pitched upon to run up the open access to the room where the King was, and there to kill or strike Alexander. It was also a singular over-sight to "*steik*" the door of the chamber, and prevent Mar and Lennox, the very head and front of the plot, if there had been any, from getting access till all was over. These circumstances, taken in

* The allegation, that he was accompanied by Sir Hugh Harries and Sir Thomas Erskine, is disproved by the fact, that these were the persons who, while Sir John Ramsay was thus employed, were questioning the Earl at the gate.

connection with others,* which will readily occur to every person who carefully compares the evidence with the annexed plans, must free the King from the imputation of having predetermined the murder of the Ruthvens, unless we suppose him to have had a much smaller portion of shrewdness and prudence, and a much greater degree of personal courage than his biographers have hitherto been willing to allow him.

If such a supposition seem untenable, that which imputes a murderous intention on the part of the Ruthvens is no less so. To the numerous difficulties which attach themselves to this view of the case, and which have been so ably pointed out by others, we would only add the singularly ill-chosen situation of the room for such a purpose, not only near the street, but almost immediately over the gate; and the thoughtlessness of the Earl and Alexander, in not fastening the doors on the black turnpike, or not employing some of their servants to guard them.

But while we must free the Ruthvens from every intention of injuring the person of the King, unless we suppose them, as some have alleged, to have been indeed *mad*, it will not be so easy to acquit them of an attempt to *detain* him.

The anxiety of the Earl of Gowry to persuade the company to order their horses, and his assertion, that the King was away by the back-gate to the inch, taken in connection with some other circumstances about to be noticed, amount, if not to a proof, at least to a presumption of the strongest kind, that he knew the King was with Alexander.

He, along with others, saw the King cross the hall in company with Alexander when they went up the staircase (Y.) When, therefore, he ran across the court yard, and went up that staircase "to ascertain," as he said, "the truth of the report of the king's departure," *where* could he have meant to have gone? Not to the hall or first floor of the house, through which they had already passed in coming from the garden—they had seen the people there already, and the report was as rife there as in the garden. If he had any purpose in going to that staircase, but that of appearing to Mar and Lennox to make enquiry, while in fact he made none, it must have been *to communicate in the gallery with his brother*. Nor is it a trifling corroboration of the supposition of such being indeed his purpose, that the period at which he crossed the court yard to ascend the stair communicating with the gal-

* Such as the singular fact of the nobles having arrived at the gate from the garden, (which they had left chiefly at *Earl Gowry's* instigation,) at the very time the King cried out. Had they been a few minutes later, and but for the man they intended to murder, they would have been so, the whole plot would have failed.

lery, corresponds exactly with the time at which Alexander left the King and Henderson, according to their account, in the turret, and went into the gallery chamber, or into the gallery itself.

But it is alleged, that the evidence of Henderson is contradictory, and therefore *wholly* worthless. It is difficult, however, to believe, that a man of respectable character as Henderson undoubtedly was, would have come voluntarily forward to swear to circumstances not *one* of which he had witnessed. It is by no means so improbable, that his own fears, and his anxiety to please the King, would induce him to give a colouring to the scenes in which he was an actor. *To that anxiety*, in fact, may fairly be attributed, all the discrepancies, not only in his evidence, but in that of the other witnesses. It did not suit the King's purpose, that the Rathvens should have been convicted merely of attempting to gain possession of his person. That fact, in the most aggravated view which could be taken of it, never could have excused the slaughter of the two brothers. Both of them could easily have been secured; and there seems little reason to doubt, that they were slain by the King's attendants, not more from excess of loyalty and heat of passion, while they supposed the King's person in danger, than from dislike to them as the leaders of a powerful adverse faction. On that account, it was of great importance for the King to prove that they made an attempt on his life. Thus, in his overweening wisdom, attempting to prove too much, he turned the tide of public opinion against himself, and led many to the conclusion, that the *plot*, if any such thing ever had existed, had its origin in his own jealousy and cupidity.

There is a circumstance, connected with Henderson's evidence, which must not be passed over. It goes very far to prove that he had indeed been in the turret at the time of the affray.

Of late years, the visitors to Gowrie House, who were shown one of the *Eastern* turrets, as that wherein these transactions took place, and who endeavoured to trace the relative situations of the parties, concluded at once that Henderson's evidence was false, because, from none of the windows in the turret, shown to them, could the Spy Tower be seen, while Henderson affirmed that the first window he opened was that which looked toward the Spy Tower. But the discredit which this circumstance was calculated to throw over Henderson's evidence is at once removed when the situation of the *real* turret is attended to. On referring to the plan No. 3, it will be observed that the window S, looked directly to the Spy Tower and away from the court where the king wished to make himself heard. This led him to say to Henderson "Fy man, the wrong window." Upon this Hen-

derson went toward the window at O, but was stopped by the entrance of Alexander Ruthven.

Fortunately Henderson gives his evidence as to what took place in the turret after this so circumstantially as to enable us to ascertain its *local* correctness with considerable precision.

He says he was crossing towards the other window when Alexander came in:—that is, he was proceeding from the window at S, (Plan No 4,) towards the window O but was crossed in his path by Alexander. If the king stood opposite to the door and looking towards it, (as was most likely) then, when Alexander entered and advanced towards to the king, the situation of the parties behoved to be nearly that of the letters K A H; K being in the situation of the king, A in that of Alexander, advanced up to his Majesty, and H in that of Henderson, stopped in crossing the round apartment. A struggle ensued in that situation, Alexander attempting to bind the king's hands. Henderson went up to them, being on the king's right, and on Alexander's left, hand. The king cast loose his *left hand*, Henderson says. In that case the garter for binding him must have been in Alexander's left hand as he had made use of his right hand in seizing the king's left hand. In that situation the garter was easily pulled from him as described by Henderson, who stood at his left. The king then "loups free"—that is, makes of course either towards the door or towards the window which he formerly wished Henderson to open. Alexander turns round, follows him and seizes him again near that window while both were followed by Henderson. Here the situation of the parties is so far changed that Henderson, (H 2,) is now on the right of Alexander, (A 2,) and on the left of the king, (K 2,) the two latter being between the former and the window.

In this situation Alexander takes hold of the king's "craig" (throat) with his left hand, and puts his right in the king's mouth to prevent his cries. Henderson then stretches his *left hand* over between the parties towards the window. In doing this he passed it over the king's left shoulder, and thus pushed his Majesty's right shoulder towards the window.

Now it is a most remarkable circumstance, that it was only in THAT VERY POSITION so described that *the king could have been seen by the party near the gate, without the persons with whom he was struggling being also visible*. It is quite evident on looking at the Plan No. 4, that the king must have been in the very situation described by Henderson, at the moment he was observed by Mar and the others. This gives a credibility to Henderson's evidence, as to that part of the transaction at least, which there is no impugning. It was next to impossible that a situation so

singular and tallying so exactly with the observation of those *without*, could have been imagined or described by any person but an eye witness. No suborned witness could have given testimony concerning so many minute circumstances without committing some error. Every motion and step is described in a manner corresponding so exactly with the situation of the room and its windows, and with the relative situations of the persons within and without, as to leave no doubt of the fact of Henderson's having been present, however much his own fears and his wish to please the king may have led him to misrepresent, in some respects, the nature of the conversation between the king and Ruthven.

We have thus briefly run over those parts of the evidence, which appeared capable of confirmation, or of disproof, by the application of A TEST which had hitherto been neglected, or had been out of the reach of the writers on this subject. If that test has been correctly applied in this investigation, there can remain little doubt that a verdict of ACQUITTAL from the charge of PREMEDITATED MURDER must be given to both parties; while the two unfortunate brothers must stand charged, with the offence (if it deserved the name) of endeavouring to detach the king from the party with whom he was then associating. At the same time that there is nothing in the evidence to free the king and his partisans from the imputation of having, whether through fear, passion, or animosity, it would be presumptuous to decide, visited that offence with a severity which has left an indelible blot on their name and on the history of their country. If on the contrary the test has been erroneously applied, the facts which it supplies, offer, it is hoped, some additional data to those already published, for correcting the errors now committed, and for enabling the subject, in abler hands, to be placed in a clearer point of view.

It may be asked— "For what purpose could the Ruthvens attempt to detain the king?" It is the province of the historian to solve this question. We should think, however, that it would not be difficult, without calling in the agency of Queen Elizabeth, supplied by Principal Robertson, to find a satisfactory cause for those young noblemen attempting a SECOND RAID OF RUTHVEN, in the then state of political parties in Scotland, and at a period when it was necessary, in order to reach the king's *Ear*, to gain possession of his *Person*.

LIST OF LANDS AND BARONIES,

CONTAINED IN

THE SEIZIN OF JAMES, MASTER OF GOWRIE.

The Lands and Barony of Ruthven, with the patronage of the Chapels of Ruthven and Tibbermuir; the Lands of Ballinbreght, Pitcairne, Craingingelt, Adanachy, Harehaugh; a third parts of the Lands of Arlewhat; the Town and Lands of Cultrony; the Lands of Drumgrain; the half of the Miln of Ochtergavin, with the half of the Multures and Miln Lands; the whole and entire Lands of Monydie, Bamblair, Ragilmy, with the half of the Miln, Multures, and Miln Lands; the third part of the half of all the Lands of the Barony of Ballingirnoch, with the Castle and Fortalice thereof, with the Milns, Multures, Miln Lands, and Wauk Miln; third part of the Lands and Barony of Abernyte, with Milns, &c. and Wauk Miln; a third part of the whole third part of the Lands and Barony of Forgandenny, with Milns, &c. and the Patronage of the Chapel of Forgandenny, all lying within the County of Perth.

The third part of the Lands and Barony of Seggie, with Milns, Multures, &c. in the County of Kinross.

The whole and entire Lands and Barony of Ballerno and Newtown, with Milns, &c.; the Town and Lands of Cowsland, with the Tower and Fortalice, &c. within the County of Edinburgh.

The third part of the Lands and Barony of Dirleton, Brabryn Park, Highfield, Menseless, and Menseless-muir; the Town and Lands of Dirleton, and Lordship thereof, with Coalleries and Fishings in salt and fresh water, with the Patronage of the Provostry of Dirleton, within the County of Edinburgh and Constabulary of Haddington.

The third part of the Lands of Boltsum; the third part of the Lands of Hasington and Haliburton, with Milns, Multures, and the Patronage of the Chapel of Haliburton, lying within the County of Berwick.

GIFT OF DONALD M'DONALD,

AS A

PERPETUAL SERVANT TO THE EARL OF TULLIBARDINE.

December 5, 1701.

AT PERTH, the fifth day of December, 1701 years.—The Commissioners of Judiciary of the South District, for securing the Peace of the Highlands, Considering, that Donald Robertson, Alexander Stewart, John Robertson, and Donald M'Donald, prisoners within the Tolbooth of Perth, and indicted and tried at this Court, are, by verdict of the Inquest, returned GUILTY OF DEATH:—and that the Commissioners have changed their punishment of death to Perpetual Servitude; and that the said pannells are at the Court's disposal. Therefore the said Commissioners have given and gifted, and hereby give and gift the said Donald M'Donald, one of the said prisoners, as an Perpetual Servant to the Right Honourable John Earl of Tullibardine; recommending to his Lordship, to cause provide an collar of brass, iron, or copper, which, by his sentence or doom, (whereof an extract is delivered to the Magistrates of the said burgh of Perth,) is to be upon his neck, with this inscription, "DONALD M'DONALD, FOUND GUILTY OF DEATH FOR THEFT, AT PERTH, DECEMBER 5, 1701, AND GIFTED AS AN PERPETUAL SERVANT TO JOHN EARL OF TULLIBARDINE:" and recommending also to his Lordship, to transport him from the said prison once the next week, and the said Commissioners have ordained, and hereby ordain the Magistrates of Perth, and Keeper of their Tolbooth, to deliver the said Donald M'Donald to the said Earl of Tullibardine, having the said collar and inscription conform to the sentence of doom foresaid.

Extracted furth of the books of adjournal of the said district, by me, James Taylor, Writer to his Majesty's Signet Clerk of Court.

(Signed) JA. TAYLOR, Clk.

PALI TABLETS.

The annexed Lithographic outlines are transcribed from three Ivory Tablets, found in the Temple at Rangoon, and sent to the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth, by John Mackenzie, Esq. Calcutta. These Tablets are of thin ivory, 19 inches long by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, each. The letters are in massy gold, similar to the richest illuminated letters on ancient missals. The ornaments at the end of each tablet are red, upon a gold ground. One of the lithographic pages presents, on a reduced scale, and in outline, the writing on both sides of the three tablets. On the other page is given a fac-simile, also in outline, of the centre writing on the most highly ornamented tablet, the size of the original. In general, the characters are quite entire: of a few, some parts indicated by the dotted lines, are wanting, but the gold, in such cases, has generally left a mark on the ivory.

Mr Mackenzie, in the letter which accompanied these interesting specimens of Eastern literature, mentioned, that the characters inscribed on them are only understood by the Chief Priests of Burmah, and are thought to be of great antiquity.

On examining all the authorities to which access can be had here, no manuscripts, inscriptions, or alphabets can be found bearing any marked resemblance to these characters. The Baly, or Pali Alphabets, given by De la Loubere, in his account of Siam, have not even a single letter in common with them. Some resemblance to them may be traced in an ancient Javanese, and in a Dewanagri inscription, given by Crawford, in his history of the Indian Archipelago, of which he could give no translation: but although the forms of some of the letters are so far similar, as to warrant the presumption that they may at least have been dialects of the same language, the inscriptions want the simplicity and *strength* (if the expression be allowable) of the writings on the tablets.

The elucidation of these and similar portions, as they can be obtained, of the most ancient sacred writings of the Asiatic nations, promises, in the hands of judicious scholars, to let in much light on the early literary history of the East. There are few who have applied themselves to the study of the Antiquities of India, who are not of opinion, that a sacred character and language, varying in minute particulars, but springing directly from one root, was at one time prevalent over Asia. This was the opinion of Sir William Jones, of Maurice, of Ward, and of many others, and it is one which is daily gaining ground, as opportunities of enquiry are increased.

In this point of view, it is impossible not to be struck with the wonderful simi-

PALI TABLETS.

larity, in many respects, between the Chaldaic or Square Hebrew Characters, and the inscriptions on these tablets. The resemblance may also be found in the Hieratic characters of Egypt, in many of the Chinese letters, and in some of the Sanscrit, after divesting them of the line added in more modern times.

It is curious also to notice, how nearly the relation, in point of form, of the Dewanagri inscriptions, above mentioned, to these tablets, corresponds with the relation of the Phœnician inscriptions to the Chaldaic written character.

Such a circumstance (and many similar coincidences might be pointed out,) must tend greatly to strengthen the opinion, that the square form of character was in every nation the most ancient, and that the lines became more rounded, flowing, and irregular, as the art of writing became more general, and as it came to be applied to secular as well as to sacred purposes.

The care with which the Sacred Books were preserved in all ancient nations, and the respect paid to them, approaching in many cases to idolatry, prevented any material change taking place, either on the character or language employed in religious matters. Thus, the Hieratic language remained stationary while the vulgar tongue was subject to constant changes, and thus the one receded gradually from the other, until they had few features in common. As the distance between them widened, the key of knowledge became more exclusively the property of the priests, and the language of their fore-fathers was at last either forgotten or perverted to the worst of purposes.

In the period preceding the destruction of the Jewish nation, that people spoke and wrote a mixed language, chiefly borrowed from the neighbouring nations, and from those who had carried them away captive; while the pure language of their fathers was found only in their sacred books, and these books were in the hands of men "who had taken away the key of knowledge, so that they neither entered in themselves nor suffered others." Modern enquiries have clearly ascertained that these books were in the square character. The coincidences between the sacred books of the Hebrews and the Burmese, not only in the form of the character, but in the circumstances under which they were found by the invading armies of hostile nations, are striking, and render the discovery of a key to the latter, an object of great interest. That key will most probably be found not only by tracing the characters now in use in the Indian Archipelago upwards, through the writings and inscriptions of the middle ages of these countries, to their corresponding signs in these ancient books, but also by a careful comparison of all the Hieratic languages of the East, of which any portions have been obtained by Europeans.

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THE
HISTORY OF SCOTTISH AFFAIRES,

DIVYDED INTO SEVERALL PARTS, AND CONTINUED FROM THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1560,

(AT WHICH TIME MR. BUCHANAN BEGAN TO WRITE HIS CHRONICLE),

AND CONTINUED FURTHER TO THIS CURRENT YEAR.

ALBEIT UNTILL THE YEAR 1625 IT IS BUT BRIEFFLY ONLY RUN OVER, BOTH IN CIVILL AND ECCLESIASTICK AFFAIRES: FOR THAT THE HISTORY OF THAT TIME IS MORE LABGELY SET DOWN BY MANY SEVERALL WRITERS; BUT AFTERWARD DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST, &c. IT IS MORE PLENTIFULLY HANDLED AND EXPLAINED.

WHEREIN, BY THE WAY, SEVERALL AFFAIRES, NOT ONLY OF ALL BRITAIN AND IRELAND, BUT ALSO OF FORREIGN NATIONS AND COUNTRIES, ARE NOT A LITTLE TOUCHED.

BY THE CONTINUALL AND SUCCESSIVE DESCRIPTION OF ATCHIEVMENTS ALLWAYES AS THEY FELL OUT; AND NOW DIGESTED INTO ONE VOLUMNE, BY THE IMPARTIAL LABOUR AND FAITHFUL STUDY AND DILIGENCE OF

MR. JA. WILSON, BURGER OF DRUMFRIES,

BEGUN THE CALENDIS OF MAII 1654.

*A previous Introduction to the History.
Containing the impartial truth of those things
which fell out in the reigns of King James the Sixth which
are omitted by most part of Historians heretofore.*

The most soul-enriching Philosophy, & that which was truly Divine & the most excellent Encyclopaedia of all arts & sciences, which came into Brittain was the Christian Religion, which was first brought in among the Scots by the wholesome springs of the Gospel, preached here by the disciples of S. John the Evangelist; (as is testified by our Chronicles, & received of the first of the Nations, & most purely propagated by teachers here born) & of old they called Cuthbert, & professed for severall ages from Romish persecution & Tyranny: till at length being spoiled by the popish heresies, yet first Reformation was introduced in the time of K. Ewan the 2^d about the year of our Lord four hundred forty & six, by the pious labours of Palladius who was sent hither by Celestine Bishop of Rome; whereby it was restored to purity. He was the first Apostle or rather Bishop of the Scots: and he was the first who introduced the affinity of the Roman Church into the Church of Scotland, and this gave an unlooked for occasion of defiling our Church with Romish superstition & trash of impure Ceremonies, and laid the foundation of a long continued defilement, (which for many ages by their most filthy impuration of that Church their growing worse & worse) in this land. And to the Church of Scotland standing in need of a new & long wished formation (as most part of all the Churches of the Christian world spoiled by Romish errors strongly required) Several men singularly endowed with true holiness of life & excellent literature, by Gods great mercifullness, being sent into Scotland: after many & severall confutations with those that hated the light of truth, which at length they brought in & strengthened that which had been so much wished for: & in the year 1560, being confirmed it was established by Law.

Thus the Reformation of Religion taking effect in the said year, Mr. Knox with the rest of the Ministers together with the Lords of the Congregation (so were the main Reformers styled at first) founded the government of the Church in a moderate imparity: for how soon they allocated Ministers to particular Stations, withall they constituted Superintendants to govern the respective Provinces: To whom power was given to ordain Ministers, Preside in Synods & direct Church Consens. After this modell was the Church governed in the infancy of it, with a well Calland Harmony among the Church men, & generall liking of the people: Notwithstanding of the great Troubles which fell out at that time in the State: viz. in the year 1569
But afterwards in the year 1571 a generall Assembly, (being in the time of Parliamt.) convened at Stirling, Some of the meeting proposed of that
(thing

PREVIOUS INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY;

CONTAINING

THE IMPARTIAL TRUTH OF THESE THINGS WHICH FELL
OUT IN THE REIGNE OF KING JAMES THE SIXTH, WHICH ARE OMITTED BY
MOST PART OF HISTORIANS HERETOFORE.

THE most soule-enriching philosophy, and that which was truly divine, and the most excellent Encyclopædie of all arts and sciences that came into Britaine, was the Christian religion, which was first brought in among the Scots by the wholesome springs of the Gospel preached here by the disciples of St. John the Evangelist, as is testified by our Chronicles, and received with the first of the nations, and most purely propagated by teachers home-borne, (whom of old they called Culdees,) and preserved for severall ages from Romish persecution and tyranny. Till at length being defiled by the Pelagian heresie, the first Reformation was introduced in the time of K. Ewan the II. about the year of our Lord four hundred forty and six, by the pious labours of Palladius, who was sent hither by Celestinus, Bishop of Rome, whereby it was restored to purity. He was the first Apostle, or rather Bishop of the Scots; and he was the first that introduced the affinity of the Romane Church into the Church of Scotland, and this gave an unlooked for occasion of defying our Church with Rome's superstition and trash of impure ceremonies, and laid the foundation of a long-continued defilement, (which for many ages, by their most filthy impuration of that Church's growing worse and worse,) in this land.

And so the Church of Scotland standing in need of a new and long-wished formation, (as most part of all the Churches of the Christian world defiled by Romish errors strongly required,) severall men singularly endowed with true holiness and life, and excellent literature, by God's great mercifullness, being sent into Scotland: After many and severall conflictings with those that hated the light of truth, which at length they brought in, and strengthened that which had been so much wished for; and in the year 1560, being confirmed, it was established by law.

Thus the Reformation of religion taking effect in the said year; Mr Knox, with the rest of the Ministers, together with the Lords of the Congregation, (so were the maine Reformers styled at first,) founded the government of the Church in a moderate imparity; for how soone they allocated Ministers to particular stations, withall they constituted superintendents to govern the respective provinces, to whom power was given to ordaine ministers, preside in synods, and to direct church censures. After this modell was the Church governed in the infancy of it, with a well ballanced harmony among the church men, and generall liking of the people: Notwithstanding of the great troubles which fell out at that time in the state, viz. in the year 1569. But afterward in the year 1571, a General Assembly, (being in the time of Parliament,) convened at Sterline, some of the meeting proponed that that thing could not continue in that state, (some of the Superintendents being old, and divers of them serving on their own charges,) it was not to be expected that others, when they were away, would undergo that burden; and therefore they wished that my Lord Regent, and the Estates of Parliament, should be dealt with, for establishing a constant form of Church government, for which effect permission was granted to the Superintendents of Fife, Angus, and Lothian, and with them Mr David Lindsay, Mr Andro Hay, Mr George Row, and Mr George Hay, to sollicite the Parliament.

But the slaughter of the Lord Regent by the Lord Huntly, Claud Hamilton, and their adherents, did put a demurre in the bussiness, (which fell out on September 3, which many times hath proven a dismall day for Scotland,) till January next, at which time the General Assembly being met at Leith, the Commissioner did press the E. of Marre, then Regent, and his Councill, for setting a policy in the Church. Whereupon it was agreed that six of the Councill, and six of the Assembly, should be set apart for that affaire, and conclude on that bussiness. For the Council were named, James, E. of Morton, the Chancellor; William Ruthven, Thesaurer; Robert, Abbot of Dumfermline, Secretary; Mr James Makgill, Clerk Register, Sir Jo. Ballenden, Justice Clerk, and Coline Campbell of Glenurquhart. And for the Church, the Superintendents of Fife and Angus, and with them,

Mr David Lindsay, Andro Hay, Robert Poge, and Patrick Craig. These 12, after divers meetings and consultations, agreed to certain articles and conclusions. Whereof the principal were, that the Church should be governed by Archbishops and Bishops, and their elections to be made by their Deans and Chapters.

These conclusions being reported to the General Assembly, met at Perth in the year 1571, in August; some of the Ministers were displeas'd, and made a kind of protestation against the same. Yet notwithstanding of that, the matter went on; and so Mr John Dowglas was provided to the Archbishoprick of St Andrews; Mr James Boid to Glasgow; Mr James Paton to Dunkeld; and Mr Andrew Graham to Dumblane. These things were grievous to such as contended for a parity in government. Whereunto ere long they were much encouraged by the returning of Mr Andrew Melvill from Geneva. Who coming home in the year 1575, gave them such an character of the Presbyterian discipline exercised there, as not only confirmed them who already favoured it, but also gained so far on others, that ere long most part of the Ministers turned Presbyterians; and in an Assembly at Dundee, in the year 1580. Whereupon K. James VI. having ere then assumed the government of the kingdom in his own person, there ensued debates for many years betwixt the King and the Ministers on that account; the King still pressing Episcopal government, and they, on the other hand, still contending for the Presbyterian way. And at the length the controversy grew to that height, that some of the Ministers chose rather to hazard on a war, than to suffer their discipline to be born down. And so in the year 1584, (the Parliament then sitting at Edinburgh,) made and published an act at the mercate cross, and with them Mr Robert Pont, Minister at St Cuthberts, (who also was a Senatour) after some protestation emitted by them, went to Berwick, and from thence to Newcastle, and there joynd with the banished Lords; and these Ministers with them, (excepting Mr Lawson, who died in England,) entered the kingdom with an army, (which they had made up in the south parts thereof,) advanced straight toward Sterline, (for his Majestie was also attended with an army, which with the noise of their approach had been by him called together, under the command of Sir James Haliburton, tutor of Pitcur, (a famous Warriour.) O what bloodshed and mischief might this attempt produced, if the King, by his great wisdom, had not prevented it, by affording them a treaty! Which, upon November 5. 1585, dissolved in peace, and yet made way for the Presbyterian government in the Church, which at last was established in the year 1591. And if the Ministers thereafter had kept within bounds, it may be the wise King would have debated no more with them upon that account.

But their eccentric actings made his Majesty soone repent of his condescendings so far formerly, and admit of thoughts to restore Episcopall government againe. Which those of the other party perceiving, they strove to strengthen their own interest, and to frustrate his designe: whereupon new debates did swell to that height, that in the year 1596, some Noblemen, Burgers, Ministers and others, being assembled at Edinburgh, and perceiving that the proces led on against Mr David Black wronged the priviledges of their discipline, and withall being offended at the clemency showed to the Popish Lords; and for these emergents and other reasons, went to work againe, and so avowedly, that they pitched on my L. Hamilton to be their head, and sent him a letter subscribed by Mr Robert Bruce, and Mr Walter Balcanquell, to come with all diligence, and accept of the charge. But the sad event which this enterprise might have produced, was prevented by the fury of the multitude that attended upon the meeting, who taking heart from some unhappy expressions uttered by my Lord Lindsay, had not the patience to wait on the command of their Generall: But presently, and without any consultation or allowance of the better and wiser sort, leaped to armes, and came to the High Street, crying, The sword of the Lord and of Gideon: It shall either be theirs or ours! And making their march straight towards the Session-house, (where the King and his Councill sat for the time,) and would, in all probability, have forced the doore, (which upon the noise of the tumult was shut,) and done a mischief, at least to the Octavians, (as they called them,) whom they bitterly blamed for all, were it not that by the providence of God, and the loyall party (being drawn together by the Deacon Conveener of the Crafts,) kept them back till their fervour cooled a little. And in the mean time, the E. of Marre called from the castle a company of Muskettiers to guard the King's person; which his Lieutennant brought quickly down the Castlebank to the Grassmercate, and from thence marched to the foot of Fosters Wynde, which they ascended and entred the backstairs, and came where the King was. After which, the King commanded the doore to be opened, and advanced to the street. Upon notice of which, and the intreaty of Sir Alexander Hume, the Provost of the town, the multitude choosed to disband, and went away as confusedly as they met rudely. Whereby the King and his attendants had a fair way to go, without hazard or affront, down the streets to his pallace of Halyroodhous, from which the next morning he removed to Linlithgow.

This mischanted bussines, (called by way of derision to this day, the 17th day of December,) gave the Ministers affaires such a blow, that during all K. James's reigne they were never able to make up again. For it was esteemed so illegall in the attempt, and proved so foolish in the conduct, that thereafter Noblemen were not much inclyned to espouse their quarrell. And without them, it was well enough known, they could effectuate nothing. And so it came to pass, that without any difficulty the King carried on his designe, and Episcopall government was againe established by law: And that not without the advice and furtherance of the wisest among the Ministers, whom experience had taught to see a necessity of having Bishops set up to curb the humours of some preachers, (especially the younger sort,) whose outbreakings against authority, both in their pulpits and meetings, were very offensive. This establishment of Episcopall government taking effect, shortly after his Majestie's settling upon the throne of England, was the more comfortable to him, that thereby he gained an uniformity in government betwixt the Churches of the two kingdoms, which being achieved, his Majestie went about to presse also that there might be an uniformity in worship. For which cause he recommended to the Bishops the introduction of some English customes into this Church. As, 1. The gesture of

kneeling to be used at the receiving of the holy communion. 2. In case of necessity, Baptisme to be privately administred. 3. Private communion to be used in the like case. 4. Confirmation of children. 5. Religious observation of the days of our blessed Saviour's nativity, resurrection and ascension, and of the descending of the Holy Ghost. These articles being debated in the General Assembly at St Andrews anno 1617, were afterwards concluded in the General Assembly at Pearth anno 1618; and at last, anno 1621, ratified by Parliament. And the king pressed also at that same time, that a liturgy should be compiled for this Church, after the modell of England, (which the Bishops relished not all alike well :) Yet wanted the motion during his reigne, for reasons best known to themselves.

In the month of January this year, severall great prodigies were seen, both in the heavens and on earth; such as at Innerara, a child was born with two heads, whereof the one was of an ordinar colour, and the other as black as a coall. Another prodigy appeared in the Heavens, a great comet began in the middle of February, and was not extinguished untill the end of Aprile, which, with many other ghastly visions, presaged the death of many illustrious great men, and especially of that renowned and first Monarch of Britaine, James the Sixth of Scotland and the First of England.

CHARLES THE FIRST,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD SECOND MONARCH OF BRITAIN, &c.

HIS LIFE MOST FULL OF MISERIES, AND HIS
DEATH OF ALL THE KINGS THAT EVER REIGNED ELSEWHERE, THE
MOST STRANGE AND DEPLORABLE.

As to Pharo, of old King of Egypt, demanding the Patriarch Jacob, how many years of his life he had passed? The Patriarch could fitly answer; few and evill have the dayes of the years of my pilgrimage (said he) been in this valley of teares. But oh! how much more evidently might this Prince have affirmed the same? Who indeed, thogh by his deceased father's careful diligence he was educated unto an Ecclesiasticall function, and by the omnipotent Author of all good artes and sciences indowed and designed by most ample gifts and graces unto the office of a princely Bishop, nevertheless by the deceass of his brother Henry (who while he lived appeared to be a Prince of all heroick vertues,) Charles was designed by God and Nature unto the height of principality and earthly dignity, if so be the subjects (over whom he was to reigne) had been endowed with the spirit of a just submission, and accomplished as he was to the promoving of piety and justice among the inferiour subjects.

Yet nevertheless, as if by him the Lord of Heaven would foreordaine any other Prince, whatsoever, (albeit most eminent in princely vertues, and indowed with most serene inclination,) to most horrible miseries and misfortunes: In like manner as Job was, (who among all mortall men, the Lord testifying, was a man most righteous, yet the Lord was pleased to visite him, as if he had been the most wicked that ever lived in the earth; as being deserted of God, that he might be tortured by Satan with most exquisite and sharp tentations that hell could excogitate, thogh he was a son of God, and foreordained to be an heir of Heaven: So also this Prince, even from his first entrie to the throne of his kingdom, he was alwayes exercised with the most cruell tentations which Satan by the most poisoned maliciousnes of savage and unnaturall subjects, whose hearts were ever most ready and bent for contriving and fostering treason against their King (before they had seen him;) which with their hands and tongues they exercised upon him.

Moreover, that which was most wonderfull, even these whom he had alwayes all his life obliged with greatest bountifullness, even those very men (as may be seen in his life,) proved alwayes most unnaturall, perfidious, and ungratefully treacherous: So that the deplorable lot of this Prince may be likened to the fate of Actæon, whom the poets feigne to have been devoured by his own pack of dogs as he was in the form of an hart: for that he whom God Almighty had endowed with a terrestriall Deity, by the decree of heaven was plunged in most unexpressible miseries above all other Kings.

But King James the Sixth being removed from this life, concerning whose other administrations, we think fit the readers search Mr Buchanan and other learned writers; we having done enough for our designe: Charles, the first of that name (whose acts and deplorable destiny we determine more fully to prosecute in the following narration,) by the general consent of all the Peeres obtained his father's ancient throne. And unto him our Presbyterians made their address for renewing and consummating their purpose, and suppressing their motion, lately begun; and this they did in all haste, having selected Mr Robert Scot, the principal Minister of Glasgow, for carrying up and presenting their supplication to the King. But at his return they found that nothing was to be expected that way, King Charles being resolved to maintain that government which his royal father had maintained during his reigne. This put them to their thoughts; yet in their department nothing appeared whereby men could conjecture that which afterwards came to pass; for their converse savoured of gravity and meeknesse; neither acted they any thing that was much taken notice of till the year 1633 that the King came home to Scotland. Only in the mean time they laboured to increase their numbers of proselytes every where, and that not without success, especially in Fife and in the western shires. Whereunto one custom which they then began proved very conduceable, and it was this: They kepted four times in the year a fast, in every church within the kingdome, where the Minister was of their stamp, viz. on the first Sabbath of every quarter; whereunto there was no publick proclamation given, but only the Minister desired so many of his flock privately, as from time to time he could

draw over to their party, to joyn into it. And on the dayes of his fasting, in his doctrine to hint at the danger of religion by pre-lacy and its dependencies, and in prayer to supplicate for remedy; concluding with a blessing upon all the good meanes which Providence could afford for that end.

By this meanes they prevailed much upon the commons; but that which advantaged them more was the turning of some noblemen to their side; for besides that the generality of the nobility was malcontented, there was by this meanes avowed owners of their interest in Fife, the E. of Rothes and the L. Lindsay; and in Lothian the E. of Lothian and the L. Balmerino; and in the west, the E. of Cassils and Eglinton, and the L. Lowdon. This accession rendered them very considerable; whereupon when the King was in Scotland in the year 1633, to hold his first Parliament, they resolved upon a petition to the King and Parliament, for redress of all their grievances: and the same being subscribed with their hands, was committed to the E. of Rothes, to the end that before it was delivered to their clerk register (to whom it belonged to receive petitions,) his Lordship might first acquaint the King therewith in private: For which end the very first day that the King made his entry into the city of Edinburgh, the E. of Rothes went timely in the morning to Dalkeith and imparted to the King the business. The King having read the petition, restored it again to the E. of Rothes, saying, No more of this, my Lord, I command you: which Rothes having communicate to the rest at his return, they concluded to suppress the petition: and so no more was heard till the next year that my L. Balmerino was brought upon the stage for it, which was upon this occasion. One Mr Jo. Denmoore, a writer in Dundee, (being with my L. Balmerino at his house in Barntown,) my Lord was pleased to discourse with him anent the corruptions both in Church and State, and laying them out to the full: Whereunto Mr John replied, that it was a pitty that such as knew these things did not represent them to the King while he is here in the countrie. To whom Balmerino answered, that they had a purpose to have done it, and had a petition signed for that end; which the E. of Rothes having shewed to the King, he commanded there should be no more of it, whereupon it was suppressed: Adding withal, that the petition being committed to him, he had yet the prototype by him, which he would also shew him, and so brought it forth from his cabinet, and gave it to Mr John, who returning to his chamber, not only read it over, but also transcribed it, and restoring to my Lord the principall, and carried with him the coppie.

But thereafter the same Mr John chancing in his journey homeward to lodge at the house of Mr Peter Hay of Naughton, fell to speak with him on that subject, and to reckon up the corruptions of the times. To which Naughton replied; and where have you learned, Mr John, to talk so of state affairs? Doubtless you have been with your patron Balmerino. To whom Mr John replied, Sir, you have guessed it: Balmerino indeed is my informer, and moreover shewed me a petition, whereby he and his associates intended to have complained to the King, and he would not hear of it; and I have in my pocket a copy of the petition. Naughton carrying no good will to Balmerino, and withall being very Episcopall, found a way how to get it from Mr John; and some days after he was gone, went to the Archbishop of St Andrewes, and delivered the coppie to him, with an account of the discourse that passed betwixt them in reference thereto: Of which the Archbishop did think himself to acquaint the King. Whereanent, in the beginning of the year 1635, orders came down from the King to call Balmerino and Mr John before the Lords of his Council: who compearing, were examined apart. And Mr John acknowledged the copy, and that also he had drawn it of that frame that Balmerino put into his hand. Balmerino also confessed the having of that frame, and produced it, and confessed he had given it to Mr John to read it over; but denyed he had his allowance for transcribing it. However, Mr John was dimitted, and Balmerino was committed prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh: And after many appearances before the Lords of Council for the space of almost half a year, was at last brought to the pannell, and by an assise of his Peeres was condemned to die. Yet did the gracious King reprove him, and ere long give him a full remission; which before the Council table he received upon his knees, with ample acknowledgment of the King's mercy to him, and sollemn promises of exemplary loyalty thereafter; which how he performed, his actions in the troubles that ensued will testifie. But this risk which Balmerino ran, sank deeply in their hearts who were of his faction, and exasperated them more against the Bishops than before: So that they spared not thereafter (whensoever they found oportunity) to undermine their reputation, taxing them of worldly interests, and that their care was only to make up estates for their children; but no wayes to procure the good of the Church; that they thought it not enough to trample upon the Church, but strove to domineer over the state; Yea, taxing them also of unsoundness, that they were as friends to Popery, and had it in their hearts to bring in the masse; and especially it was their care that noblemen should drink in these prejudices of them, which was easily to be obtained.

Of the former sort was Archibald L. Lorne, a man very considerable both for power and parts, and at that time generally beloved; who afterwards proved the bane both of Episcopacy in the Kirk and Monarchy in the State. The reason why he turned antagonist to the Bishops was judged by wise men to be, that the office of High Chancellor, hapening to be vacant anno 1635, by the decease of Geo. E. of Kinnoules (a worthy statesman,) the L. Lorn had dealt for it. But the King having lately done great things for him, (bringing the bargaine of Cantire into his hands, and giving him an heritable right to the justiciary of the yles, and also a large sum of present money for his better subsistence,) the King was not pleased to be any further sued by him: and so he voluntarily offered the office of Chancellor to the Archbishop of St. Andrewes. This disappointment (thogh undeservedly,) irritated Lorn against the Bishops, whom he blamed for the same. And upon the other account it was, that Jo. E. of Traquair, High Treasurer, (under profession of friendship enough to the Bishops,) had underhand deallings with their most bitter adversaries, he conceived a jealousie (and many thought it was not without cause) that the Bishops intended his fall, to the end

Mr Jo. Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, might be made Thesaurer, and that therefore in a covert way he did what he could to supplant him. Neither were there wanting in the court at the King's own elbow divers for the ill will carried to the Bishops, who favoured that way; (their names I spare till afterwards I come to give you an account of their actions:) And withall their adversaries had intertained a London one, Mr Alexander Borthwick (a man well travelled, and meet for such a work,) trafficking with nonconformists there; to have a care of attempting something for Reformation (as they called it) in that Church, as soon as the work should begin here. This Mr Borthwick returned in February 1637, and made account of his success, which being according to their mindes, did greatly encourage them.

They had also correspondence with the Scottish Ministers in the north of Ireland for making some sticking there, wherein they were not deficient. And at length (knowing what was on the wheels in this place) they waxed so tumultuous against the orders of that church, as forced their Bishops to turn them out. Whereupon they came swarming over to Scotland, with a great noise of the persecution they had endured; and they were looked on by their friends here as so many martyres, and care taken for their shelter and subsistence in the west, untill by the revolutions that ensued places were provided for them.

Their adversaries also had other advantages against them, as, first, the want of harmony among the Bishops: the younger, though in their wisdom and experience far short of the elder, yet no ways observant of them; the cause of which was this: It had been K. James's custome, when a Bishoprick fell vacant, to ordaine the Archbishop of St Andrews to convene the rest, and list three or four, all well qualified, that there could not be an error in the election; and then out of that list, the King pitched on one, whom he preferred: Hereby it came to pass, that during his reigne, most able men were advanced: As Mr William Cowper to Galloway, Mr Adam Bannatyne to Dumblane, Patrick Forbes of Corse to Aberdone, Mr David Lindsay to Brechen, and Mr John Guthry to Murray. But King Charles followed another, and without any consultation had with the Bishops, preferred men by moyen of court; so by Buckingham's recommendation, Dr Lealy was made Bishop of the yles; at the request of James Maxwell of the bed-chamber, Mr Jo. Maxwell was made Bishop of Ross; and by the Bishop of Canterbury's recommendation, Mr Thomas Sydsersf was made Bishop of Brechen, and Dr Wederburn made Bishop of Dumblane: And when Bishop Sydsersf removed from Brechen to Galloway, Mr Walter Whytford was made Bishop of Brechen; by the moyen of the Earl of Sterline, then Secretary of Scotland. Among these late Bishops whom K. Charles preferred, none in generall were judged gifted for that office, except Bishop Maxwell, of whom it cannot be denied but that he was a man of good parts, but the misery was this, they were accompanied with unbounded ambition. For it did not content him to be a Lord of Parliament and of Secret Councill (as were the rest,) but he behoved also to be Lord of the Exchequer, and Lord of the Session extraordinar; and at last he aspired to be Lord High Thesaurer, which proved fatall to them all. Always these young Bishops not being beholden to these old Bishops for their preferment, (and for that not depending on them,) they kepted a fellowship among themselves apart; and happening to gaine an intimacy with the Archbishop of Canterbury, caused him to procure to himself power from the King to prescribe things to the old Bishops, which they did not equally well relish. Another advantage their adversaries had of them, and that was the discontentment which dayly encreased among the Ministers, for the Bishops too much slighting of them. Yet was it not to be imputed to the old Bishops, who were wise and humble men, and gave respect to all honest and well deserving Ministers as their brethren: But that was the fault of the younger, who carried themselves so loftily, that Ministers signified very little in their reckoning. And the third was most fatall of all, the Statesmen's unsoundness to them: When they who, in the King's absence, should underprop them, did only undermine them, this was ominous, yet so it was: howbeit all professed kindness to them; yet (underbord) all of them wrought against them: being partly led on by the Thesaurer, and partly by the avarice of the young Bishops, and their too much meddling with state affaires. So things being in this posture, Providence afforded the fairest occasion their enemies could have wished for appearing against them.

The King, at his coming to Scotland in the year 1633, (as was declared before,) had brought with him Dr Laud, (then Bishop of London,) shortly thereafter promoted to Canterbury, who had much power with the King, but hated of the people; and he seeing our form of publick worship, in conference with our Bishops and others of the Clergie, taxed the nakedness of it in divers respects, and in speciall for want of a Liturgy, whereby he thought all might be helped: The old Bishops replied, that in K. James's time there had been a motion anent it; but the prosecution of it had been deferred, in respect of the Articles of Pearth, which then were introduced and proved so unwelcome to the people, that they judged it not safe nor fit to adventure upon any further innovations; and they were not yet without fear, that if it should be gone about, the consequence of it might prove very dismal. But Bishop Maxwell, and Mr Thomas Sydsersf, (who was then but a postulant,) and Mr Mitchell and others, pressed hard that it might be, assuring there could be no danger in it. Whereupon Bishop Laud (hearkening most to them who spake nearest as he would have had it,) moved the King to declare it to be his will, that there should be a Liturgy in the Church, and commanding the Bishops to go about it: But as soon as this came to be noised, the perfecting of the same was not more to be wished for by Episcopall men, than it was by them of a contrary judged, albeit upon different accounts. The former to acquiescence to the King's will, or possibly thinking it to be a good thing in the Church; but the other presuming (whereanent they were not mistaken,) that the noise of it would so startle the whole nation, as to render them inclinable to combine in war for opposing it; which they thought might inferre the extermination of Episcopacy, with all its dependencies.

The Bishops. in the meantime, were busied about the work; and at length, towards the end of the year 1636, compleated it. After which nothing remained but to get it authorised, and so made practicable; which, while they went about to doe, there

arose a clamour against them. (which was soon with a temerarious report so spread out through the land.) that religion was undermined by a conspiracy betwixt the Bishop of Canterbury and our Bishops; and that they being suborned by him, were bringing in the masse booke, though never so much as dreamed of. This so irritated and wrought upon the people every where, that it was judged by them, that there was not a way left to escape a public rupture, but to suppress the book. And indeed, the Archbishop of St Andrews, with the wisest of his brethren, laid it to heart, and wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to deal with the King to keep up the book, till the nation was better prepared for receiving of it; which possibly would have been harkened unto, if our Bishops had been harmonious anent it; but those among them that had bin but lately preferred, (being hot blooded, and wanting much of the experience that the elder had,) went not along with them; but complied with the Thesaurer's opinion, that the work should go on: Whereupon the Thesaurer, having got some lines under their hands to the Bishop of Canterbury, that there was no danger to be apprehended; only the old Bishops were timorous men, and feared where there was no cause of fear. In token whereof, his Grace would move the King to lay his commands upon him, he should upon his life carry on the business without any sturre; (Canterbury being ignorant that the Thesaurer's zeal for promoting the work, was to ruine the Bishops own work,) especially having broght to him a letter from those among them, (with whom he corresponded most,) was so offended with the Thesaurer's speeches, that albeit he thought it was not fit that any work of that nature was to be committed to any laick; yet procured he to himself a warrand from the King to command the Bishops upon all hazard to go forward in it: And threatening that if they lingered any longer, the King would turn them out of their places, and fill the same with men vigorous and resolute, who would not be affraied to do him service.

At the Thesaurer's return to Edinburgh, the Bishops having received this peremptory command, were not alike well pleased: The yonger Bishops were overjoyed, and esteemed the Thesaurer their best friend, who had procured what they desired. But the wise old Bishops were much of another minde, and thought more than they said. Alwayes having nothing left them but either do or dy; whereupon (and being mightily encouraged by the Thesaurer's ample promises of assistance and sharing in their lot,) they cast away fear, and went to work. And indeed it is remarkable, that thereafter they acted so far contrare to the rules of prudence and policy, whereby they had been accustomed to walk and act in their proper and ordinar affaires, that all men began to espy a fatality in it; for, that they laboured, (not as formerly they had done in lesser matters,) to have the book brought in by a ecclesiasticall sanction, but having got it authorised by an act of Councill, proceeded without more ado to urge the practise of it, whereby they procured to themselves the distate of the most part of these Ministers who were Episcopall in their judgment, who thought it a very sad thing that a Liturgy should be imposed upon the Church without the knowledge of the Church. Yea, they judged it so dangerous a preparative, that thereby the civill powers might in after times introduce any thing into the Church, (though never so hurtfull to religion,) and the Church never get any notice of it. And they are the more offended, in regard K. James of blessed memory never pressed any thing that way, when he was in the height of his power; but whatsoever he would have done he would take a Church way in it. Neither did they press their Liturgy to be begun and practised in the remoter places of the kingdom and diocies, where there was least aversions from such changes; but made the first essey there where opposition was most probably to be expected. Thus they begane their work in the city of Edinburgh, whereupon the 16 day of July 1637, (at their command the Ministers in their severall pulpits,) made intimation, that the next Sabbath, (being the 23,) the Service-book would be read in all the Churches, extolling the benefite thereof, and exhorting the people to comply with it.

When the next Sabbath was come, two of the Ministers that had made intimation, viz. Mr Andrew Ramsay and Mr Henry Rollock (having got notice of the opposition that was to be made,) keped the old way of worship, and medled not with the book; but the rest resolved to read it. And that the work might begin in St. Geilles Church with greater solemnity, the Bp. of Edinburgh came thither himself from Halliroodhous to assist. But no sooner was the service begun, but multitudes of wives and serving women in all the severall churches rose in a tumultuary way; and having prefaced a while with despightfull exclamations, threw the stools they sat on at the preacher, and thereafter invaded them more nearly, striving to pull them from their pulpits: Whereby they had much adoe to escape their hands, and to retire to their houses. And for the Bps. (against whom their fury was most intended,) the magistrats found difficulty enough to rescue them; and when they had brought the Bp. without the Church, he was yet in danger to be murdered in the streets, had it not been by Providence the E. of Roxburt, (who by the death of Thomas E. of Hadinton, had lately been made L. Privy Seal) received him into his coach, which he had caused drive so quickly that they could not overtake him. This tumult was taken to be but a rash emergent, without deliberation; whereas the truth is, it was the result of the consultation in the end of Aprile, at which time Mr Alexander Henderson came from his brethren in Fife, and Mr David Dick from those of the west countrie: And these two having communicated with my L. Balmerino and Sir Thomas Hope, the minds of those that sent them, and having got approbation thereto, did afterward meete at the house of one Nicholas Balfour in the Canongate, and with her Effy Henderson, Bathia Aird, Elizabeth Greeg, and severall other matrons, and recommended it to them that they and their associats might that way give the first onset and affront to the book, assuring them that men would take the busness off their hands. These matrons having so undertaken to Mr Henderson, he returned to Fife, and Mr David Dick to the west countrie; having by the way in Sterling and other places where they halted, (lest notice should be taken of their being at Edinburgh at that time,) given out that's earand had been to convoy Mr Robert Blair to a ship, who had professed to intend for Germany to preach to a regiment, while as in the meantime they had other things in their heads.

Notwithstanding the affront at Edinburgh, which should have made the Bps. more wary, the next attempt was as temerari-

ous and inconsiderate, being made in the eastern part of Fife, where the Bishop of St. Andrews caused charge Mr Alexander Henderson and Mr George Hamilton to receive the book under the pain of horning. This Mr Henderson in his youth was very Episcopall, in token whereof (he being a Prof-ssor of Philosophy in St Andrews, at the lawreation of his classe) chose Archibald Gladstones for his patron, with a very flattering dedication, by which he had the Kirk of Leuchars given him thereafter : And before he had been many years there, fell intimate in acquaintance with Mr William Scot, Minister at Cowper, and then he changed to the antiepiscopall way, and indeed became so eminent, that in Mr Scot's declining years, a'l the Ministers of that persuasion depended on him : And no wonder, for in wisdom, learning, and state policy, he far exceeded any of them. However, he and the other being charged, had recourse to the secret councill, and upon the 23 of August supplicated the Lords for a suspension of the charge.

The Lords of Councill laid the supplication to heart, and wrote to the King thereanent, desiring to have his Majesties mynd in the affair against that 20 day of September ; to which day the supplicants were charged to answer.

The Bps. expected that the secret councill should have rejected the supplication of the Ministers, and so should have inflicted some exemplary punishment upon those who had made the tumult in Edinburgh ; and neither being done, and they knowing the Thesaurer's power in the Councill to be such that he ruled matters at his pleasure, began then to be jealous of him when it was too late.

The good acceptance which Mr Henderson and the other found in the councill being communicated to their correspondents in severall parts, there followed greater trafficking throughout the countrie for drawing in of great numbers to Edinburgh against the next councill's dyet, and not without success ; for upon September 19, arrived there the Earls of Cassills, Rothes, Eglinton, Hume, and Lothian and Weems ; the Lords Lindsay, Yester, Balmerino and Crawford ; and besides these, divers Ministers, Gentlemen, and Burgers, from Fife, and the western shires. All which upon the morrow presented their supplication to the councill against the book. The oracle which the supplicants consulted anent the legality of their supplication was Sir Thomas Hope, the King's advocate, (although he professed to have no hand in the bussines, being the King's servant ;) yet he in the meantime privately laid the grounds and way whereby they were to proceed. And that he might not be marked, he pitched upon Balmerino and Mr Henderson to be the men who from time to time might come to him and receive his overtures.

The Thesaurer yet professed to be for the Bps. but yet bewrayed himself abundantly, not only by his private correspondence with the supplicants, but also by his carriage in publick, which tended altogether to hound fair and encourage them to go out. But besides these, other Lords spoke favourably in Councill anent the supplicants, and passionately rebuked the Bps. among whom they took most offence at the E. of Morton, in regard that he of all Scotsmen (Hamilton excepted,) had tasted most deeply of th King's clemency and bounty. But by this time the Bps. were become so despicable and odious, that neither Morton nor others regarded their wrongs ; and it was thought one reason why his Lordship hastened the sooner to court, lest in his absence they might inform against him to his prejudice. Yet the Councill deferred to answer the supplicants till October 17, writing to the K. in the meantime to what an height the sturte had come, and intreating his answer at that day. Likwas the Duke of Lennox being present (who had come to Scotland to attend the buriall of his mother the Countess of Abercorn,) was the very next day to begin his journey to court, they desired his Grace to represent the case fully to the K. and so the Councill dissolved. The supplicants upon the morrow met again at their severall tables, and unto the Ministers joyned Mr Alexander Ramsay and Mr Hary Rollock. The main thing treated at that meeting was how the brethren throughout the kingdom might be made to concurre with them, in regard as yet few appeared (excepting from Fife and the western shires,) and so it was laid on Mr Rollock to deal with them of the Lothians, Mers and Tevidale ; Mr Andro Ramsay to take the like paines with them of Angus and Merns ; Mr Robert Murray to deal with them of Pearth and Sterline shire ; and an advertisment was directed to Mr Andro Cant to doo the like with these in the North. And so the Ministers disbanded for the time. But towards the 17th of October, the people from severall parts of the land came swarming to Edinburgh to joyn in supplication ; and so generally, that besides the encess of Noblemen (who had not been formerly there,) there were few beneath the Grampian Hills, from which there came not gentlemen, ministers, burgers and commons. Yet if the King's letter and answer, which the S. Councill had received, had tended to the discharging of the Service-book, (as all peaceable men had expected and wished,) the most part had returned home satisfied ; and those who where otherways minded would have stayed with a thin backing. But that instead thereof, the first the enraged supplicants heard was a proclamation over the crosse, ordaining the Service-book to be exercised in Edinburgh and places adjacent ; the Councill and Session to remove first to Linlithgow, and thereafter to Sterline ; and the supplicants to depart Edinburgh within 24 hours, under the pain of horning. This irritated the people of Edinburgh so, that the next morning the women fell to work again, and gathered to the street to the number of 300. The place of their rendezvous was at Fosters Wynd head, and their first attempt was upon Bp. Sydsersf, who going to the Councill-house with Frank Stewart, son to the E. of Bothwell, for examining some witnesses in his business, he was invaded by these women with such violence, that probably he had been torn in pieces by them, were not the said Frances, with other two pretty men that attended him, received him out of their hands, and led him in at the doore. Thereafter the Provest and Baillies, being met in their Councill-house, these women beleaguered them, and threatened to burn the house above them, unless they should presently, for the town, name two commissioners to joyn with the supplicants ; which, to compose the tumult, they were forced to doe. And so these women disbanded for that day ; for that no more had been recommended to them for that day by those who had hounded them out.

The rumour of the town of Edinburgh joyning in with the supplicants, had such influence on other burghs, that whereas the

most part of them (having lyen by formerly,) very shortly thereafter all of them, (Aberdons only excepted,) came to the cause; and indeed, being once engaged, turned most furious of any. So that neither their own Ministers, nor any other that seemed to dislike the cause, had any safety among them. And notwithstanding of the proclamations, whereby the supplicants were commanded to depart Edinburgh, they remained not the less in the towne, and met the next day at their severall tables, for consulting what was left to be done. Where, (lest such of the Ministers as were not on the secret of the business) should, for fear of contravening the proclamation, have withdrawn, the Noblemen behaved to advertise them, (which otherways they would have been loath to divulge,) how that they had assurance from the Thesaurer, (notwithstanding the proclamation,) notice was not to be taken of their staying in the town, providing they kept within doores, and broke not out into the streets to appeare in tumult. Whereupon they abode in their meeting-houses all that day, whereof the most part was already spent ere they fell on business: For that Balmerino and Mr Henderson were all the while with Sir Thomas Hope getting their lessones; and as soon as they returned from him to the Lords, Mr Henderson brought from them a proposition to the Ministers, That whereas they had formerly supplicated only to be freed from the Service-book, that they might now also take the persons of the Bishops for their parties, and complain of them as underminers of religion, and craved that justice should be done upon them. But to this many of the Ministers were unwilling, professing they came there only to be freed of the Service-book, and otherways had no quarrell against the Bishops; which being reported to the Noblemen, they sent the E. Rothes and the L. Lowdon to persuade the Ministers, who with their prolix and tedious orations, (wherein was a mixture of intreaties and allurements,) prevailed so with the Ministers, that the challenge against the Bishops (being prepared aforehand,) was instantly subscribed by them all; and also coppies of them given them to be carried home to their severall Presbyteries and paroches to be subscribed by all ranks; and to be returned against the next Council-day, which was to be on November 15. This being done, the Ministers were demitted for that time; and returning home, thundered from their pulpits, so as that against the second day great multitudes of people, and greater numbers than formerly from all quarters, came to Edinburgh with their extended supplications. And among other Noblemen who had not been there formerly, came at that dyet the E. of Montrose, who was most taken notice of: Yea, and when the Bishops heard of his coming to joyne, they were not a little affrayed, having that esteem of his parts that they thought it time to fear a storm when he engaged. And moreover, the number being so great, that in regard the councill dyets were not very frequent, the Noblemen considered that the multitudes could not remaine in town to attend the councill dyets; and therefore, after a few days stay, they appointed that some of every estate should be chosen to be with them constantly at Edinburgh, to wait on the dyets for answer, and the rest to retire home, which was done.

The councill sate afterward at Dalkeith, the L. Thesaurer's residence, where the Noblemen and Commissioners that attended did, upon the 19 of December, present to the Councill a declinature against the Bishops, that now, being made party, they might not sit and vote in their judicatories. Whereanent, the L. Thesaurer, Sir Ja. Carmichael, L. Thesaurer Depute, Sir Thomas Hope, L. Advocate, and Sir Ja. Hamilton, Justice Clerk, did all that dyet discover themselves more clearly for the supplicants than formerly they had done. But the E. of Roxburt, L. Privy Seal, was more reserved; but none of the Statesmen spake cordially for the Bishops, except Mr Jo. Hay, the Clerk Register allanerly.

The result of the Councill was to send up the L. Thesaurer to inform the K. to what an height the business was come. The Bishops that were present opposed what they might, being unwilling he should be occupied or employed, but were not able to stop or hinder the current. In regard, Roxburt and the rest of the primest Counsellors were for it, and so his Lordship began his journey to court, on December 21. And upon January 8. 1638, the Councill and Session, in obedience to the proclamation made, October 17. met at Sterline, and continued there till the end of February. But upon Feb. the 14. the Thesaurer returned from court to Dalkeith: Whereupon the Noblemen and Ministers residing at Edinburgh, sent privately to him his nighbour the L. Cranstoun, to bring them intelligence how matters ruled at court; and thereafter, on February 16. the L. Thesaurer came to Edinburgh, where he stayed till the 19. and spake to them at large, and then at two o'clock in the morning poasted to Sterline. But what notice the Noblemen had from himself of his dyet was concealed, and they professed to have learned of some footmen of their owne, who lodged in the house where the Commissioner's horses stood. Allways, no sooner was the Commissioner come, but (as if they had been surprised therewith,) they gave an alarme throughout the town, conveyeing all by 3 of the clock immediately, and dispatched after him the E. of Hume, and the L. Lindsay, that if any proclamation should be published at Sterline, before they could all come that length, these two, in their names, might protest against it. But Hume and Lindsay poasted so fast, that they poasted by the Thesaurer at the Torwood, and were at Sterline an hour before him.

Upon the arrival of the Thesaurer, the Chancellor presently called the Councill, and at ten o'clock caused publish at the crosse, a proclamation of his Majestie's approving the Service-book, &c. And discharged all meetings to the contrary under the paine of treason; and Hume and Lindsay protested against the proclamation, taking their instruments in the hands of Mr David Forrester, Notar; and the rest of the Noblemen then at Edinburgh followed towards Sterline as fast as they could, having first scrt poasts through the three Lothians, to Fife and Pearthshire, warning all that loved the cause to come to Sterline in all possible haste. The Noblemen at Edinburgh arrived at Sterline by 4 o'clock in the afternoon; and at midnight, the town was full of armed men, that came upon a call from all quarters. The next morning, it was current that Biahop Spottiswood, the Chancellor, would get the same measure that Biahop Hamilton, his predecessor, many a year before had gotten in the same place; and indeed the giddy headed sort would have had it so. But the Noblemen and the wisest of the Ministers abhorred their motion, and so

nothing was further attempted at that time. Only having spoken the Thesaurer and others of the Council, and commisionate Archibald Erskine of Scottscraig, and Sir William Murray of Polmaies, to renew the declinature at the first dyet of Council, the Noblemen, and all the rest, (reckoned about 1000,) rode from Sterline straight to Edinburgh, to consult what was next to be done. Whereof the product was, after some dayes advertisement and consultation with Sir Thomas Hope and others, lawiers, that a covenant was to be solemnly subscribed by all that would joyn with them. And so upon March 1. 1638, they being all assembled in the Greyfriars Kirkyard, the covenant, (being prepared beforehand,) was publickly read and subscribed by them all, with much joy and shouting. The Archbishop of St. Andrews being returned to Edinburgh from Sterline, when he heard what was done, said, Oh now, all that we have been these 30 years past, is overthrown in an instant ! and fearing violence, presently fled to London, (where the next year he died ;) and so did also such others of the Bishops as knew themselves most ungratious to the people ; and only four of them stayed at home : whereof three delivered both their persons and fortunes from suffering, by their solemn recantations ; which were Mr Alexander Lindsay, Bishop of Dunkeld ; Mr George Graham, Bishop of Orkney ; Mr James Fairly, Bishop of Argyle. But the fourth, viz. Mr George Guthry, Bishop of Murray, as he choosed not to flee, so upon no termes would he recant ; but patiently endured excommunication, imprisonment, and other sad sufferings ; and in the midst of all his enemies fury, stood to the justification of Episcopall government till his very last gasp.

Many copies of the covenant were sent through the countries to several Presbyteries, burghs, and paroches, to be subscribed, which was every where done with much joy, except in the north parts, where many opposed it. Which when it was noised abroad what generall acceptance the covenant had gotten, the Council met again at Sterline upon the 10th day of March, and sent Sir John Jonstoun, Justice Clerk, to inform the K. what way business went ; and he at his return, April 20, delivered to the Lords a letter from the King, wherein he called for the L. Thesaurer, L. Privy Seall, and L. Lorne, to repaire to the court, that he might consult with them what to doe. These three went up immediately, and after conference with them, his Majestie resolved to send down the Marques of Hamilton to order and settle all. The L. Lorne returned in May 10 ; but the other two remained at Court until the Commissioner was ready to take journey : and the reason of Lorne's haste was talked to be a council of his father, the E. Argyle, then residing at court, which he gave to the K., which was, that he would keep his son with him, and not suffer him to returne to Scotland, or else he would winne him a pirne, (such was his expression ;) and the K. thanked him ; but said, it behoved him to be a King of his word ; and therefore I have called him up, said he, by this warrant, that I shall not detain him. So was Lorne dimitted, and came quickly home, and was the first man who told of the King's purpose to send down the Marques of Hamilton, Commissioner. And indeed when the noise of it spread, the few that remained anti-covenanters were much discouraged, expecting no good by him : yea they spared not, in their common discourse, to revive that debate, which had been made betwixt my L. Rae and David Ramsay, concerning his pretention to the crown, and many other things to the Nobleman's disadvantage.

However, his Grace came to Dalkeith on June 10, accompanied with my L. Thesaurer, Privy Seall, and others, where the L. Lorne also waited upon him. After which time, the Noblemen and Commissioners residing at Edinburgh, had advertised all the Covenanters throughout the land to come there. And indeed they made such appearance, as that the foote reckoned to be convened was upwards of 20,000, and of Ministers for their share upwards of 700. But few of the Ministers was so courted by our Noblemen, as those who this year came from Ireland, in regard they found by their pulse how ready they were to go along with them to the utmost extent of their desires ; whereanent they had a suspicion of many others, and not without cause, that how soon they should get beyond that which they called Reformation of the Church, and encroach upon the King, they would fall away.

The speedie provision for the Ministers was heartily recommended by the Noblemen, and accordingly Mr Blair was planted in Air, Mr James Hamilton in Drumfries, and the rest of them in Galloway and other places adjacent, being vacant by the removeall of those who had fled away from their charges ; who, for their disaffection to the covenant, were so persecuted by their malicious people, that they found no meanes to save their lives but by present flight, and abandoning their country.

By this time returned from the north, the E. of Montrose, and Mr David Dick, who had been sent out upon this occasion. It was presumed that the town and clergy of Aberdone's influence upon the countries and shires adjacent, was the cause of their averness to the covenant, and therefore they were employed to go thither and work their conversion. At their first arrivall no Minister of those northern parts came near them, except Mr Andro Cant, Minister at Pitsligo ; yet had they a confidence to engage with the Doctors at Aberdone in a dispute, and there past betwixt them replies and duplyes on both sides, which were printed. The anti-covenanters boasted that the Doctors had the victory in dispute, which was not much to be admired ; for Mr David Dick and Cant made small help to Mr Henderson ; and for him, it cannot be denyed but that he was a learned man ; yet for their eminency in learning, without wronging him, it could not be thought he could be able against all those Doctors, who were famous at home and also abroad among all other churches. Howbeit the Doctors continued obstinate ; whereby they came thereafter to be so persecuted, that for saving their lives they were forced to flee out of the countrie. Yet Montrose, with the assistance of the thrie Ministers, (whome Mr Forrester in his Liturgy called the three Apostles of the Covenant,) by their example, with the like successe with the Ministers and people throwout the shires adjacent, and so being accompanied with a great number of proselytes, they returned to Edinburgh in due time to wait on the treatis with the L. Commissioner.

The day whereupon the Commissioner came to Dalkeith from Haliroodhous, he came by the sands of Leith ; upon the foreknowledge whereof, the Noblemen made all the people to be drawn forth to that place, whereby his Grace might behold their number. The Ministers kept in one place by themselves, and had Mr William Levinston, Minister at Lanrick, to declaim an oration to him ; which being told him, he discharged him. After his setting in Haliroodhous, the Covenanters nominated to attend his Grace, and treat upon the affaires, Jo. E. of Rothes, James E. of Montrose, Jo. L. Lowdon, and with them Mr Alex. Henderson, Da. Dick, and Andro Cant. At his first meeting with them, his deportment was stately and harsh ; so that on July 4. he caused publish at the Cross of Fdinburgh a proclamation tending rather to approve than condemne the Service-book, and other novations complained on : which was solemnly protested against by many thousands there present. The protestation was read by Mr Archibald Jonston, and intruments taken in the hands of three Notars : viz. by the E. of Cassils, in the name of Nobility ; Mr Alex. Gibson yonger of Dury, in name of the Gentry ; James Fletcher, Burges of Dundee, in name of the Burgers ; Mr John Ker, in name of the Ministers ; and the said Mr Archibald Jonston reader thereof, in name of all those that adhered to the Covenant.

Upon the morrow, the Lords and Ministers returned to his Grace, and found him more plausible in treating with them (even publickly) than before ; there being present, Roxburt, Southesk, the Thesaurer Depute, the Justice Clerk, and other Councillors there. But that which came most to be talked of, was something he told them in private at parting ; for having desired these Lords of Council to stay in the chamber till his returne, himself conveyed them in through that room, and stepping in to the gallery, drew them to a corner, and there expressed himself as follows :—

My Lords and Gentlemen, to whom I speak before these Lords of Council as the King's Commissioner, there being none here present but yourselves ; and I will speak one thing to you as a kyndlie Scotsman ; if you go on with courage and resolution, ye will carry what ye please ; but if you faint or give ground in the least, ye are undone ; one word to a wise man is enough. This being spoken in private, I should not have mentioned it, were it that it came shortly thereafter to be publick, and reports anent it were so different, that some made it better and others to be far worse than it was. My warrant for what I have set down was, that the same day Mr Andro Cant told it to Mr Guild, who the next morning reported it to Mr Da. Dalgleish, Minister at Cowper, and Mr R. Knox, Minister at Kelso, and Mr Hen. Guthrie, Minister at Sterline. And likewise the said Mr Henry, being that present with the E. of Montrose at supper, his Lordship drew him to a window, and there told it in the very same terms, wherein Mr Guild had reported it to him, adding, that it wrought an impression to conceive that my L. Hamilton might intend by that business to advance his designe ; but he would suffer his judgment to be suspended till he saw further, and in the interim to look more narrowly to his walking.

However, these Lords, the next day, returned to his Grace again, and after some debates told him plainly, that nothing but a Parliament and General Assembly would settle the busines. His Grace deaved leisure to make a journey to Court for craving the same ; to which they agreed. And so he went off on July 9. promising to returne with the King's answer before Aug. 12. And to pacify them a little before his departing, sent a proclamation to the cross of Edinburgh, for the Councill and Session to sit there againe, which was obeyed.

The Commissioner returned upon the 8 of August ; and the next day he declared in Council, that he had obtained allowance from his Majestie to indict a Parliament and General Assembly, providing the Covenanters might first condescend to some preparatory articles ; and thereupon some peaceable men laboured to dispose them to condescend : but all in vaine. These articles being offered on the 13th day were rejected, after which his Grace told them that his instructions did not warrant him to grant either a Parliament or General Assembly untill his Majestie were further supplicated. And therefore desired them till Sep. 20. to go to the King for that effect, which upon Aug. 23. was by them condescended to, upon conditions, that hereafter no delays should be sought ; so that same day his Grace began his journey to Court. But in his absence there was a Treatise printed at Edinburgh, and dispersed abroad, holding out reasons for the Church's power to keep Assemblies without the Magistrats allowance in case of his aversness ; which shewed the design intended if the King should refuse. Alwayes the Commissioner returned on Saturday, Sep. 17 ; and having convened the Council, he and all the Lords of Council (according to his Majestie's command) on the 22 did subscribe that Covenant which of old, anno 1580, had been published by K. James and his Council, and the body of the land : As also by proclamation at the Cross of Edinburgh, discharged the Service-book, and book of Canons and high Commission, and declared Pearth articles to be of no force, and indicted a General Assembly to sit at Glasgow on Nov. 22. 1638, and a Parliament on the 5th day of May 1639, thereafter. Upon hearing hereof, all moderate men were overjoyed, expecting that the Covenanters would be well satisfied, (and so indeed, most part of them would have been, who in simplicity of heart went on ;) but the leaders (whom the rest durst not contradict,) instead of acquiescing, went boldly to the Cross with a protestation, wherein as they professed to accept the favours so granted to them with thanks ; so did they pretest against the tenure of it, as being in other things unsatisfactory. Mr Archibald Jonston read the protestation and intruments again taken in the hands of three Notars ; viz. by James E. of Montrose, for the Nobility ; Mr Alex. Gibson yonger of Dury, in name of the Gentry ; George Porterfield, burges of Glasgow, in name of the Burgers ; Mr Henry Rollock in name of the Ministers ; and Mr Archibald Jonston, the reader thereof, in name of all them that adhered to the Covenant. This carriage stuzbled many, and made them apprehensive that the leaders of the bussines had more in their designs, than as yet they professed ; for things by them were carried on with so high an hand, that none had the courage to speak against them, and went along with them, although with

reluctancy in their hearts. And no wonder; for that by this time they had well near engaged the whole nation to the Covenant, and even the most part of the Highlanders, especially those that had dependance on the house of Argile: Such as the countries of Cantire, Argile, Lorne, Cowell, and Braidalbin, were furious in the cause, to gratify their superiour the L. Lorne; who although he professed as yet to stand for the K., and in every thing went alongs with the Council, yet was he well known (as proved afterward) to be cordiall for the Covenanters, and to have intimate correspondence with them. And for the rest, albeit in their hearts they abhorred the Covenant; yet to avoid the wrath of the great men, and judging it the most probable way to avoid suffering, went on with the multitude.

The Commissioner, after the indiction of the Parliament and Assembly, lay quiet at Haliroodhous; and after a few days there, he retired to the house of Hamilton, to wait upon the Assembly: But the Noblemen and certain Commissioners of the other states stayed still at Edinburgh, and kepted their tables there for preparing matters for the Assembly. And first of all, that, with more legality, they might have the Bishops secluded from claming to be members in it, their tables appointed severall Presbyteries, wherein Bishops had presided, as trespassers to the Assembly, and some of them for faults alleadged in their calling, others in their conversation, and some for both, to be dissolved, which accordingly is done. Next, the tables at Edinburgh were carefull to informe the Presbyteries concerning the constituent members of the Assembly, that there should be from each Presbitery two Ministers members at least, or three at most, together with one ruling elder. And as to the qualification of those Ministers who were to be chosen, (to the end that such as they suspected to have fallen from them, might not be pitched upon,) therefore they prescribed two caveats to be looked to in their elections; first, that none should be elected that had been the King's chaplaines, or members of Bishops chapters, or who had been Justices of Peace, or that had been upon the high Commissions. Next and finally, all those of whom they had not certaine persuasion that they were fixed their way. And as for the ruling elders, as there was to be but one in every Presbitery; so they enjoyed that he should be well affected and a Nobleman, if any such had lands within the bounds of that Presbitery, and failing thereof, a well affected gentleman. Whereby it came to pas, that all the Noblemen that were furious in the cause were elected either in one Presbitery or other, and so became members of the Assembly. And lest their private instructions sent to the Assembly should be publickly known, whereby their adversaries might know their prelimitations, and upon that ground impugne the liberty of the Assembly; therefore at the receiving of them, the severall brethren of each Presbitery gave their oaths of secrecy, which was but ill kepted; for before the Assembly met they were talked of every where, and brought to my L. Commissioner's knowledge. When the dyet of the Assembly drew near, the tables at Edinburgh considered how fit it was that (beside Commissioners) the Gentry of the countrie were drawn there to guard the Assembly, and to make it terrible to gainsayers, for which they found out a pretty device. There were some robbers raging through the Highlands, of whom they had made the report to pass, that they would come down and beset the wayes, and do violence to the Commissioners in their way to Glasgow; for preventing of which it was thought fit that all who were zealous in the cause should conduct their Commissioners thither, and guard them during their sitting, which was done.

The Assembly sate down on Nov. 21. 1638, and Mr John Bell, Minister in the town, brake up the Assembly, my L. Commissioner being present, attended by the Lords of Council, among whom was my L. Lorne, (afterward to be designed E. of Argile by his father's deceasse, which fell out at that time,) his Lordship attended the Commissioner as a Privy Councillor, not as yet having avowedly declared himself for the Covenant. Mr Alex. Henderson was chosen Moderator of the Assembly, and Mr Archb. Jonson clerk. My L. Commissioner, attended by the Council, sate in the Assembly until the 28 day, debating concerning the seclusion of the Bishops and other things belonging to the constitution thereof; and getting no satisfaction, did that day, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, withdraw: and the next morning by 9 o'clock, did by proclamation, at the cross of Glasgow, discharge the Assembly, under the pain of treason: which was solemnly protested against by many hundreds there present, and instruments taken thereupon in name of the E. of Rothes and others. But notwithstanding of the proclamation, the Assembly did thereafter meet, and sate dayly for several weeks, untill they had accomplished their affaires, and were of themselves pleased to dissolve. The E. of Argile came in that day to the Assembly, and sate constantly therein; and his joining with them great rejoicing. Yet many thought, the frame of his discourse which he made at his entrie, wanted of that prudence which might have been expected of him; for it was to this sense, that from the beginning he had been theirs, and would have taken the cause in hand as soon as any of them did, were it not that he conceived, that professing hitherto for the King, and going alongs with the Council, was more available to them than if he had at first declared himself for them. Always Argile's example and my L. Commissioner's so quiet departing (being in the heart of the countrie where his power lay) wrought so upon the Lords of Council and other Noblemen who had formerly stood out, that many of them in the time of the Assembly, and others afterward, joyned themselves to the Covenanters.

The principall things done in the Assembly were, 1. All the acts of former Gen. Assemblies since the year 1605 were declared null; the Service book, book of Canons, and book of Ordination; the high Commissioner, together with the 5 articles of Perth, were all condemned. The Covenant, which in the 1580 had been acknowledged by King James, and this Covenant to be consubstantially all one; and that Episcopacy had been by the former abjured, the Bishops all deposed, and commissions appointed to sit, only those Bishops were excepted from that censure that submitted to the Assembly: Many were deposed. Commissions were appointed to sit in several places after the rising of the Assembly, for deposing of the rest who should persist to oppose the work. Mr Henderson's transportation from Leuchars to Edinburg, concluded; and a letter framed to be sent to the

King for obtaining his royal assent to all that was done. So upon Decr. 20, 1638, the Assembly arose with triumph; and upon the 24, the Commission authorised by the Assembly sate down.

The Commissioners which sate at Edinburgh needed no long process with the Ministers thereof, in regard the fear had forced them ere then to flee, except Mr Andrew Ramsay and Mr Henry Rollock, who were both forward in the cause; and the first that was brought to draw in the yock with them was Mr Henderson. And to his kirk of Leuchars was preferred Mr Eleazar Borthick (he who formerly had stayed some years at London trafficking with nonconformists there,) but before he had remained two months at that kirk, he was by the leaders of the cause quickly sent back againe to prosecute his old trade, where he stayed till his death. In like manner also the E. of Hadinton (who after's father's death had gone up to kiss the King's hand) remained there at that time. And this was no secret, that under profession of waiting upon the King, he agented the same business with the Nobles which Borthick did with the citizens and others of inferiour rank, and thereanent kepted intelligence with the E. of Rothes.

In the end of December my L. Commissioner began his journey to Court, having left the countrie since the rising of the Assembly all in uproare; and upon the 9th of January 1639, Mr Geo. Windrame of Libberton, was sent to Court with the Assemblies letter to the King; and as soon as the Marqs. Hamilton informed the King of his arrivall and carand, the King commanded his Lordship to receive the letter from Mr Windrame, and on the 15 convening the Scottish Councill, he caused the letter to be read in their presence, and craved their opinion anent it. Who all with one voice said: It is a most humble and well penned letter. Whereupon the King took their answer to consideration; and so shortly thereafter he sent down a letter to his Councill here; the which was read in Jan. 20, bearing that, for better settling of Scottish affaires, he intend for York on April 1. and would call up the Scottish Councill to come hither and give him their advice. Notwithstanding hereof, the Noblemen and Ministers that remained at Edinburgh, and had the leading of the business, professed to have intelligence that the King intended nothing but war, and was using his endeavours to raise an army to invade this land: and upon that ground, (nothing the less, that there was no answer from Mr Windrame, who returned not till March 22.) they calling a general meeting of Noblemen and Commissioners from the other estates to be at Edinburgh on February 20, for resolving upon a defensive war; which was contrived by Balmerino, Hope, and Henderson. And being convened, and the business for which they were met being proponed; a paper, holding forth the lawfulness of a defensive war, was read at the meeting: whereby all the Noblemen and others convened, professed to have such clearness in the question, that instantly all of them in one voice consented to the leavying of an army, and voted G. Lesly to be Generalissimo thereof. And immediately these reasons were spread throughout all parts of the kingdom, and orders sent every where therewith to the Ministers to frame their doctrine to that end. And upon the 21 of March, the General, accompanied with the whole Covenanters, and all the people of Edinburgh, went, and without any dispute had the Castle rendered to him; Mr Archb. Hadon, governor thereof, having no provision for holding out; for albeit in October last, the L. Commissioner had been very carefull to get the E. of Marre out of it, (who formerly had been keeper of it), to have the house in his own possession: yet he forgot thereafter to furnish it either with men or victualls. So that when Gen. Leslie came before it, there was not a man more within it, but those few servants who, under the E. of Marr, had the keeping of it in the time of peace; and these had not one night's provision in it.

Thereafter the Generall, accompanied as before, went upon the third day of March to Dalkeith, which then belonged to the King, and having the house rendered to him, brought from it to the Castle of Edinburgh (which now he had garisoned,) great store of powder and ammunition, which the E. of Traquaire, L. High Thesaurer, had brought home privately from London for the King's use. And his Lordship was so unfortunate, that very shortly thereafter it came to be believed that himself was the man who put Gen. Leslie upon it.

When the General was thus employed, there came a report from the north, that Aberdonians were fortifying their towne, and the Marq. Huntly and his retinue drawing to a body; whereupon the Generall and his Councill at Edinburgh appointed the E. Montrose, with all diligence, to levy all Fife, Straiterne, Angus and Mernes, to march north for suppressing their insolency; which he went about with so wonderful celerity, that upon the 30 day of March he charged Aberdone. And indeed the defendants were so affrighted with their approach, that without any dispute they submitted themselves, and demolished their fortifications: And some fiery Ministers who attended on him, and would have urged him to no lesse than to burne the town, and the soldiers pressed hard for the plunder of it. But he was more generous than to harken to such cruell motions, and so withdrew his army without harming them in the least, holding his march straight towards the Marq. Huntly; who, upon the rumour of his approach, disbanded his forces, and sent friends to treat, (himself, in the meantime, retiring towards the house of Strabogy to attend an answer;) and when his messingers returned, and delivered Montrose's answer, he came immediately to salute him. And on the 5th of Aprile, he subscribed a bond substantially all one with the Covenant, and conducted Montrose to Aberdone as being on his side. Yet such was his levity, that the very next day he resiled from the write he had subscribed and sealed; which thereupon he restored to him; and therefore Montrose brought him, and his eldest son the L. Gordon, prisoners to Edinburgh, where they were warded in the Castle. But his second son, the L. Aboyne, subscribed the Covenant, and therefore Montrose committed him to stay in the north. Upon further preparation, the King, after Montrose's returning from the north, general officers, colonells and other inferior commanders were elected, and committees of war appointed in every shire for furthering the levies, and the 5th man throughout the kingdome appointed to be drawn forth with all speed: Lykeas messengers and commissioners were employed be-

yond sea for armour and amunition ; which was very much furthered by the Scottish factors in Camfere, (who were all furious in the cause,) and advanced much thereto : and refused to be any more subject to Sir Patrick Dundas, their conservator, because he adhered to the King. Then the officers of the army being all agried for a fortification in the town of Leith, which was begun and advanced very fast ; in regard that beside the inferiour sort, and such as wrought for pay, incredible numbers of voluntiers, and those of all sorts, yea, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, did work at it ; and none were more ready to carry the rubbish than the ladies of honour.

The next care was how to be provided of money ; and for this they insinuate in the first with Sir William Dick, (then the most powerful merchant in Scotland,) and flattered him so, that he (being a vain-glorious man) advanced to them very great summes, (whereby at his end he died a beggar,) at the first 400,000 lib. and afterward more than a million ; for the which, to blow him with a cheek wind, they caused make him Provost of Edinburgh, the place being empty by the death of Sir Jo. Hay, who had fled into England, who with President Spottiswood, who also had fled to escape violence, and the Scottish Bishops, accused the E. of Traquaire before the King for his treacherous deportment in the Scottish business, and gave in great indictments against him. But the King's gentle inclinations would not be induced to take any hard course against him, to the great grief of all who were truly loyall, and the encouragement of rogues and traitors. The King at the time was at York, and reports came daylie to our minions from false-hearted men about him what his projectings were, and how at length he had attained to a considerable army, with purpose to advance shortly from York to Berwick. Whereupon immediately great store of armes and amunition arrived here from Zealand, and were dispersed to the severall shires, whereby the souldiers were sufficiently armed. Then the Generall and his Councill sent new advertisements through the shires for the whole regiments to march in haste towards the south ; and in the way to attend the Generall's orders concerning the place of rendezvous ; which was obeyed with all observation ; for the zeal of the people in those dayes made them to march like so many Jehu's.

The King's armie, consisting of 20 great ships, arryved in the Road of Leith on March 21. The Marq. of Hamilton being Commander in Chief, and under him Sir Jo. Penningtown ; and there were said to be in the ships 3090 souldiers for land service, besides as many as the ships required. Upon this report, the L. Aboyn leaped to the fields again with the name of Gordon and other anti-covenanters in the north ; and sent an invitation to the Marq. Hamilton, that he would be pleased to imploy his land forces to joyn with them, which he refused. Yea, he was so unfavourable to his native countrie, that untill the pacification (which followed thereafter,) he sate still in the Firth, and never attempted any thing at all. Yet was not that the cause or reason why the anti-covenanters spake so loudly of the dialoyalty of the Marques, but it was because of some private correspondence with the ringleaders of the covenanted faction, which came to their knowledge ; for they understood how Mr William Cunninghame of Broomhills was sent abroad to him ; and how after his returne, the next day the Marques came ashore to the Links of Barnbugall at midnight ; where my L. Lowdon met with him, and had two howers conference : after which his Lordship returned to the ships, and the L. Lowdon to those that sent him. This coming to be known, furnished occasion of much talking to his prejudice ; and in particular it wrought upon the E. of Montrose to have further jealousies of his wayes than before, which not the less he concealed a long time thereafter, as ye will hear.

By this time most of the regiments were marched towards the south ; and before the Generall's removing from Edinburgh, he, with his Councill of war, appointed Montrose to commit his regiment to his Lieutenant Colonell, and himself to march northward, and raise the people of the burghs and shires there of Angus and Mearns, for suppressing the L. Boyn, and his forces. Which with speed he went about ; and having leaved a considerable number, advanced towards them, who were reckoned to be about 2000 foote, and 300 of horse ; but Boyn had the double, and more. And the encounter was at the bridge of Dee, where the matter for some houres was sharply disputed on either side, till at length Montrose gained the bridge, and rowted them ; but with small slaughter, in regard of the Highlanders swiftnesse of foote ; and that his generous mind was more for victory than execution.

This motion in the North being suppressed, Montrose disbanded his forces in Angus, and returned to his own house, expecting that the Generall and his Councill should have invited him to come south, and attend his regiment. Which they slighting, he therefore went not ; but stayed still at home till the return of their army, which was shortly thereafter : For by that time the K. had brought his army to the Birks within two miles of Berwick ; and General Leslie called all the Scots to Dunslaw, where they pitched upon the 20 of May ; but before that, the armies being within view of other, (thogh seven miles distant,) yet they lay quiet without attempting any thing at all till the 11th day of June, at which time the Scots, by the E. of Dumfermiline, presented a supplication to the K. for a treatie (although they were far above his army in power,) the which he granted. The place of treatie was the E. Arundale's tent (who is the King's Generall :) to which from the Scots went the E. of Rothes, the L. Lowdon, and Mr William Douglas of Carnock, and Mr Alexander Henderson. At their first arriveal, the K. came unexpectedly to the tent, and gave them a kiss of his hand. After that, with some discourse which fell in, the treaty was adjourned till the 13th day : at which time they returned and went forward in treating till the 18th day, in which the treaty happily ended in a pacification. The articles aggried on were first, as the K. did not own their Assembly at Glasgow, so neither should they be urged to disowne it. 2. That there should be a full and a free Assembly holden at Edinburgh on August 12, and a Parliment on the 25th of the same. 3. That in the meantime both armies should disband, and all captivated persons and places should be restored to the owners, and mutuall assurance from all losses and damages.

This agreement was on June 18. signed by the King and his Generall and Council. Lykeas on the morrow his Generall and the E. of Holland and others came to Duns to Generall Leslie's quarter to sie it signed by him and his Council of war : And so upon the 20th day, being Thursday, at Warlock, both the Scotts and English armies were disbanded, and retired peaceably homewards. One thing which the K. excepted against, (which fell out at the disbanding of the King's and Scots armies,) to cause publish a proclamation ; bearing that his Majestie approved it, and therefore commanded them to disband. His proclamation was protested against by the E. of Casells in name of the rest. This did highly displeas the King : in token that it could not be well defended when they were afterward challenged for it. They denied it to be a protestation, saying it was but only a declaration of their adherence to the Assembly at Glasgow. Yet the armies disbanded peaceably, and things were for a time prosecuted according to the treaty.

The E. of Winton, Roxburgh, Lauderdale, Hadinton, and some others that had bin with the King, returned home. The castle of Edinburgh was on June 21. rendered to the Marques Hamilton the King's Comissioner, who presently placed Generall Ruthwen in it ; and thereupon followed the enlargement of Huntly and his son the L. Gordon. And also on the 27, by my L. James's command, the King's navy retired from the Firth towards England.

Then the lovers of peace were filled with hopes that troubles were at an end ; but that was soon checked by an emergent which fell out on the 30 of July, and imported that the Covenanters meant not sist there ; for that day the L. Thesaurer, with Kinnowll and Generall Ruthwen, coming in coach from the castle through the high streets of Edinburgh, these devout women, (who first put life in the cause,) did now (when it was in danger to be buried,) restore it againe, by invading and throwing of an heap of stones at them. That this breach of pacification had private allowance, (for these women had not run unseent,) few doubted. Yet was it not publickly owned ; for upon the 24 of July, the L. Lowden was dispatched to the K. (then at Berwick,) to excuse it. And returning, brought from the K. an order requyring the Scotts to repair to his court at Berwick, with whom he might consult aent the way of his coming to hold the Assembly and Parliamt in person. These were Argile, Montrose, Rothes, Casills, with Lowdon, Lothian, Dunfermline, Lindsay, Dowglas of Cavers, Mr Henderson, Mr Archbald Jonston, the Provost of Edinburgh, Edward Edgar Bailly thereof, and the Provost of Sterline. Of all these went only Rothes, Montrose, Lothian, Dowglas of Cavers, Edward Edgar, and Mr Archbald Jonson, on the 16th of July ; and having all kissed the King's hand, his Majestie commanded them to send back poast for the rest, which they did. Whereupon they prepared as if they had a minde to goe ; but had it so contrived, that when they came to the Watergate to take horses, multitudes were convened there to stop them, upon the pretext that if they should goe they would be detained. And so it resolved on this, that the L. Lowdon should write an excuse to the K. which came to his hands on the 19, but it was not well taken : And upon the morrow, those that were already with the K. obtained their dimission, upon the condition they should return and bring the rest with them. But being come home, the matter was consulted, and resolved that it was not safe for them to goe ; and thereupon Lowdon and Lindsay were sent to the K. for excusing of the bussines, and returned on July 27 ; having left his Majestie so ill satisfied for being mistrusted, instead of his coming to Scotland to hold the Assembly and Parliamt on Moonday 29, he took journey to London. This was lowdly exclaimed upon by all who are apt to admit prejudices against him ; and imputed it to some advertisement from the Queen and the Bp. of Canterbury : Yet was there lesse reason to blame the K. for it, in that before his removeall he authorised the L. Thesaurer to be his Comissioner both at Assembly and Parliamt.

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh August 12, and the L. Comissioner sate daily therein, attended by the Lords of Council ; and Mr David Dick was chosen Moderator, who bewrayed such a weakness in that employment, as made every man to say, *Minuti presentia famam*, that is, he is far short of that we heard of him ; yet it had been worse with him, had not Mr Alexander Henderson sate at his elbow, and waited on him as his coadjutor. And on August 17, the Assembly made an act condemning Episcopacy as unlawfull, and contrary to the word of God ; whereupon the L. Comissioner gave his consent to it. As also on the 30 day they made another act ratifying and approving the Covenant, and ordained the same to be subscribed by all persons within the kingdom, whereunto his Grace also consented. And on the very same day wherein this was done, and the acts subscribed and established, the Assembly arose with triumph, having first taken into consideration how Universities might be provided of Professors, since most of them that served formerly therein were fled away ; and herein they did most wisely. For seeing the people of Scotland are much led by their teachers doctrine, it was to good purpose to plant such men, as would principle young Theologians their way ; whereof they had the more need, for that by this time old Ministers saw so far in their designe, that divers of them were falling from them, and so no wayes inclyned to keep the church allwayes on their side ; but that the yong ones who were to succeed when they were gone, should be bred and educated in a liking of their way and complacency of their cause.

As for the colledg of Edinburgh, there needed no paines to be taken, in regard that Mr John Adamsom, Primar thereof, was furious in the cause ; thogh it was thoght it was not from persuasion, but only to advoid their wrath : And for St Andrews, the mother of the rest, Mr Samuel Rutherford was afar off brought from a landward kirk in Galloway to be Principall Master of Theology there ; and to strengthen their hands the more, Mr Robert Blair was transplanted from Air to be Minister of the town. The former Ministers, Dr. Gladstones and Dr. Wishart, being driven away by force of persecution, it was intended to transplant Mr David Dick from Irwine, to be Professor in Glasgow, which shortly thereafter came to pass. And albeit his weakness for a Professor was generally known ; yet in regard he was very seditious, and had a pragmatick way of dealing with yonger folks,

to that end, the leaders of the cause thought that his settling there would be profitable for them. As for Aberdore, until that they should fall upon Professors in whom they might confide, it was determined that Mr Andrew Cant should be transplanted to be Minister in that town, which afterwards was done. This designe of planting such men in the Universities was not taken notice of by those who had the charge of the King's affaires; yet did it by progres of time prove the most effectfull means of all other, whereby the cause prevailed: For when these young men who had their breeding under them came to be Ministers in the church, they were incomparably furious, and therein outstripped elder men, (even of their own judgment,) in so far that if any of them hapened on any occasion that savoured of moderation, they were therefore reckoned Laodiceans, Politicians, &c. The madness of the time being such as all who were most cruell were most cryed up.

The Parliament sate down on Saturday, August 31, the L. Commissioner being present therein. All the acts of the General Assembly were ratified in Parliament with his Grace's allowance; and there it was expected the Parliament should have risen, being only indicted for that end. But the leaders of the cause had other projects; and instead of rising, proponed a number of new motions concerning the constitutions of Parliaments and other things never treated of before; whereanent the Commissioner told he had no instructions. And Montrose argued something against these motions, for which the zelots became suspicious of him, that the K. had turned him when he was with him at Berwick; yet they expressed little thereof. Only the vulgar, (whom they used to hound out,) whispered in the street to his prejudice. And the next morning he found affixed on his chamber doore, a paper with these words upon it: *Invictus armis vincitur verbis*; he that is invincible in battell is vanquished with words; and by that they meant the King's permission. The contest encreasing betwixt the Commissioner and them concerning these motions, he acquainted the K. therewith, who wrote to him to prorogate the Parliament, and repaire to court. Which being told the Estates, and on his refusal thereof opposed his way going; where he delayed his viage, and sent up the E. of Kinnoull to represent the matter to the King.

So also the Estates sent up Dumfermilne and Lowdon for their interest, who being now discharged to come near to court by a mile; whereupon they returned without access. And the K. by his letter, commanded the Commissioner to prorogate till June next, 1640, without their consent. Which being done on November 1, they protested to the contrary; the protestation being before the hand prepared, was read by Mr Archibald Jonson, and instruments thereupon taken by the E. of Rothes. So the Parliament disbanded for that time; and the next day the Commissioner began his journey to the court. Lykeas upon the 17 of November, Mr William Cunningham of Broomhills was sent by the Committee of Estates with a supplication to the K. for a protection to Commissioners to come thither and clear his Majestie's scruples.

The Commissioner returned on December 18, and on the morrow transported privately, from Haliroodhous to the Castle of Edinburgh, the Crown with the regall honours; yet was he so unfortunate as even in that to be esteemed unfaithfull, in regard that before night it came to be publickly known. Allways having accomplished that business for which he came, the next day he returned to court.

Whereupon assembled at Edinburgh on January 14. 1640, a great meeting of the Estates and prime Ministers, (without whom nothing could be done,) and commissionate to go up E. Dunfermilne, Lowdon, the Sherif of Tevidale, and Mr Robert Barclay, Burges of Irwine, who began their journey on January 31. The next emergent concerning two of his Majestie's ships, which on February 6, arrived in Leith road; and sent a messenger on the shore to deliver to the Provost and Baillies of Edinburgh a letter from his Majestie, wherein he commanded them, under the paine of treason and rebellion, to convoy to the Castle the men and furniture which were in these ships. The Provost and Baillies consulting the Noblemen and others of the Estates, got their allowance to obey the command of the K. And so on the 12 day there was convoyed to the Castle in safety 100 souldiers, 80 muskets, and as many pikes, with some cannon powder. And on the morrow morning was sent, to show to the K. their ready obedience, George Wachope, Burges of Edinburgh; who returning on February 26, reported that on the 20 day the Commissioner had kissed the King's hand. But that he refused to hear them immediately, and appointed them to give the E. of Traquaire whatever they would say: As also that the Commissioners willed them to advertise their friends at home to expect warres; the K. having for assistance thereunto called a Parliament in England to sit on Aprile 13. Whereupon, without any more certainty, the Nobility, with the Commissioners of burghs and shires and leading Ministers, are sent for to convene at Edinburgh, March 10. And being met, concluded the levying of an army, and ordained the Ministers present to advertise their brethren throughout the land to frame their doctrine thereto. But the harmony at this meeting was not so cordiall as in the year preceding; for seeing religion was now according to their desires settled both in Assembly and Parliament, they could hardly persuade men to believe it to be the estate of the question. And many conceived their designe to be directly against the King, (notwithstanding that the K. his interest was solemnly sworn to in the covenant,) and whispered anent it, but had not the confidence to speak it out publickly. And on the other hand, they waxed more audacious and insolent, by reason of an advertisement received concerning what had befallen the Commissioners at London; for they had certaine intelligence that Lowdon was a prisoner in the Tower; and the rest arreisted and committed to custody of severall Sheriffs; whereof the reason was this:—

The Parliament of England having met on April 13, and the K. in his speech inveighed against the proceedings of the Scotts; and produced, (subscribed in Aprile 1639, by many of the great ones,) a letter to the French King for assistance; which letter had come to the King's hand by this Providence: At the subscribing it, there hapened to be absent a great number whome these present wished also to subscribe it; for which effect they committed the letter to Mr Archibald Jonson, appointing him, as he found an opportunity,

to gain their hands to it : But he, through negligence, lost it out of his pocket. And being found, it past from hand to hand, untill it fell into Sir Donald Graham's hand, who delivered it to the E. of Traquair, and he gave it to the King. The miscarriage of this letter was thereafter supplied by another of the same to the French King, with one to Cardinal Richlieu. Both which were sent to France by Mr Colvill, brother to Sir Robert Colvill of Cleish. However, of that letter which by miscarriage came into their hands, he made his own use. And indeed the Parliament of England were so affected with it, as to concur in the courses which were taken with the Scottish Commissioners ; wherein the L. Lowdon had a greater measure given him than the rest ; because his hand was at the letter.

This emergent made these at home the more earnest for getting up of an army ; and so there was a general meeting called to be at Edinburgh on April 16, for electing of Commanders to govern the army : Where, without any contradiction, old Leslie was chosen Generall, as before. But it was thought that (because of the dissatisfaction of many Noblemen, and but lately begun to appeare) there should have been change of officers : yet the contrary fell out ; for the same who formerly had been in charge were pitched on againe. So the L. Almond was Lievtient Generall ; and Montrose had two regiments given him, one of horse, another of foot ; the L. Erskin had the regiment of Sterlineshire ; the L. Drummond of Perthshire, and so of the rest ; neither did these decline the employment, which was thoght as strange ; and many apprehended they had a designe in it to the prejudice of the cause, although nothing thereof appeared till afterwards. A Councill of State was also chosen, and orders sent to the severall shires to their councills of war to hasten the outreaching of their levies : Whereunto they were much encouraged by the newes which on June 11, Jo. Wardlaw brought in ; how on the 5th day of May, the King had raised the Parliament of England, because they refused a subsidy for invading this land, untill their own greivances were first redressed. As also since the raising of the Parliament, the King had caused imprison some of the members thereof : Whereupon the apprentices of London had gone in a uproare to Lambeth House to search for the Bishop of Canterbury ; but he is not found, (he being escaped to Court at Whitehall,) and they affixed on the court gates and other principall places of the citty these lines :—

Let King and Queen doe what they can,
The Laud shall die like Doctor Lam.

And on May 27, returned home Dumfermline, with the Sherif of Tevidale and Mr Robert Barckly, the L. Lowdon being yet in the Tower. And forasmuch as the Scots Parliamt had been on the first of November last prorogate by the King's Commissioner till June 2, there came a letter from the King to some of the Lords of the Privy Council (in whom he yet confided) to prorogate again till July by his authority : those Lords consulted with the King's Advocate anent it, who resolved them that the King's letter and warrant sent to them for prorogating the Parliament was so informall that it could not subsist in law, and that therefore they did not urge the prorogation. So the Parliament sate down on June 2, without his Majesty's authority or allowance, or any Commissioner from him. In it Gen. Ruthwen was forefaulted for refusing to render the Castle of Edinburgh ; and all his monys, wherein his estate consisted, escheated to the publick. A grand Committie of Estates was also chosen, viz. out of every estate 12, whereof the one half to be with the Generall in the camp to dispose of things military, and the other to remaine at Edinburgh for disposing of things at home. Mr Adam Hepburn was chosen clerk to the committie at Edinburgh, who going to the fields with the Generall, deputed to serve in his place one Ro. Hepburn, who so enriched himself thereby, that being formerly very poore, did shortly thereafter make purchas of the Barony of Keithmarshall in east Lothian. But the Parliament on June 11, adjourned till November 14, that in the mean time they might imploy themselves in advancing the levies : and the Committie of Estates (being shortly thereafter sate down) sent a peremptory command to the severall shires, to cause the regiments to proceed and march without delay where in their viage they were to expect their Generall's order concerning the time and place of their rendezvous. Lykeas the Ministers residing at Edinburgh for the publick affaires, wrote to the severall Presbiteries to bestirre themselves in their Pulpits and other places for accelerating the same ; and that they might have wherewith to mount soldiers of fortune at their outputting, the committie found a very prettie overture for getting money, which was, that all who had any silver work should give in the same to the publick to be coyned, and the owners thereof to receive bond from the Noblemen and others for the worth thereof. This relished ill at first with the rich burgers ; but when once the Ministers had dealt for it by their preachings, and in their private insinuations with the burgers their wives, they became so forward in obeying the same, as made the Royalists compare the cause to the golden calf : and Mr Alex. Gibson of Dury, being made Commissioner-general, received all. Neither were they more ready to lend than the Noblemen to give band ; whereanent men propheted, that ere long they might possibly happen to repent of it before the work were at an end ; which indeed came to pass. And it was observed, that of all others the prime committie men subscribed fewest bands : and Argile, who was prime ringleader and principall of them, none at all. Which was then little noticed, in regard the giddiness of the time was such, that men thoght it a piece of credite to be so far taken notice of, as to be desired to put their hands to bonds. Nevertheless, hereby they attained to vaste summes of money ; and the joy they attained thereupon, was much augmented by the L. Lowdon's returning from imprisonment, who arrived at Edinburgh, July 3, the Lord Hamilton being the man that procured his liberty.

The Royalists thoght he might have a designe in it for his own good, having thereby obliged his nation. And by this time the whole regiments were marched south ; and on July 27, were brought together to Causaleywood. When there, by common

consent, it was resolved to marching for England, a declaration being first sent in before them, whereby they obtest that Almighty God, that they intended not the least diminution of the King's honour and greatness, or any prejudice to England, but only to seek their peace. And it being concluded that Argile's Highlanders should not be taken into England, his Lordship procured employment for them at home: And the people of Athole, and the Ogilvies in the brays of Angus, (being suspected to carry no good will to the cause,) commission was given to the E. Argile to take order with them. So he levied their regiments, whereof two were his own men, and the third Glenurchie's; and therewith marched he forwards to the fords of Lyon: and upon notice hereof, the E. of Athole drew his people together, (being about 1200,) and encamped over against them. Hereby it was collected by Argile, that the Atholians meant to fight him; whereunto it was judged neither he nor his men were inclynable. And there finding the occasion of Sir Patrick Ogilbie at the Ballach, Argile employed him to draw the matter to a treaty, which he went about, and being the E. Athole's brother-in-law, prevailed so far, as that having (according to the warrant that Argile gave him,) assured him of a sure access and recess; the E. Athole, and with him eight speciall gentlemen of his country, went with Inchmartine to the E. Argile's tent, and conferred with him at the length upon the bussiness. And having certaine articles from him to be advised upon, left him for that time to go back to his people, (who were very ill-natured, and would fain have had a bout with the Argilians;) but having passed the inner guards, they were stopped; whereupon they returned back to the E. Argile's tent to complaine. But he replied, that his guard were wiser than himself, he being that night to ly at Glenurchart's house, it was fit they should be with him, and conferre there at length. And that complement being past, he told them plainly, that they were his prisoners. And when they replied, that they came there upon his assurance signified to them by the Laird of Inchmartine, which they hoped he would not violate; he answered, he would not debate with them thereanent; but he could be countable for his deportment in that affaire to them from whom he had his comission. And so without more adoe, comanded them to send an order to their people to disband, which was done, and they themselves that night kept prisoners in the Ballach; and on the morrow sent with a convoy to the E. of Perth, Jo. Stewart of Straitherne, requiring them to send them to Sterline, which he did: And from thence were conducted to Edinburgh, where for some days they were imprisoned, untill they gave assurance of their good behaviour; and thereafter they were enlarged, and returned home.

But as they were very sensible of the trick that Argile put upon them, in bringing them into his tent upon assurance, and thereafter most perfidiously finching from it; so it wronged Argile's credite exceedingly at all men's hands, who looked indifferently on the matter, and rendered him so ill affected, that thereafter his parole was little regarded. Yet he cared for none of these things. And so he began to march towards the braes of Angus, although he knew there was little worth there for him, and his Highlanders. For the house of Airlie, (which was the only house which in all these fields had been fortified for the King's service,) was rendered to the E. of Montrose before his march towards the south, who placed therein Col. Sibbald, who wrote to the E. Argile that he needed be at the paines to draw his men thither, seeing the house was already gained. But Argile, whether it was to disoblige Montrose and the Ogilvies, or to keep his Highlanders in exercise, or for what else I shall not determine, did not the lesse advance; and coming before the house, caused Col. Sibbald come forth and speak with him: Which he did, being at that time for the same cause: whereupon Argile comanded to cast open the gates, and bring forth his sojors. So on July 6, Argile entred the house, and stayed in it a week, his Highlanders pillaging all the countrie about very miserably. And thereafter having slighted and dismantled the house, on the 14 day sent his men all northward to Glenyla; where they burned Phortor and other houses belonging to the E. of Airlie; and from thence returned home with as much spoille as they could transport.

Then the Generall Assembly, upon the last Tuesday of July, sate down at Aberdone, without any Commissioner from the King. And the very first thing that occurred was the receiving of Mr Jo. Paterson to the Covenant; for avoiding whereof he had first fled to England, and shortly thereafter repented and came home again. And upon his appearance, was restored to the Presbytery, and by them to the Generall Assembly: before which also he made his recantation sermon; and therewith the Assembly professed to have had such satisfactions, that he was received into their fellowship.

The next thing done there was against Conventicles, that were called by the owners thereof their private meetings; which was on this occasion: As soon as Episcopacy was turned out of this Church, there came from England one Thomas Levinston, a taillor, and another Mr Corneill, a chirurgian, (both supposed to favour the Brunisticall way,) and also from Ireland a fleet of Scottish people, who being dissatisfied with the formes of that Church, and long ago had forsaken the public congregations thereof, and had betaken themselves to conventicles; (of their favourites, the principall was the Laird of Leekkie, and another John Kelso.) These coming into Scotland by the west, trafficked with the people of these parts to comply with their way of seeking edification by private meetings: Whereof the success was greater, that Mr David Dick, Mr Robert Blair, Mr Sam. Rutherford, and others, were said to countenance them. Upon hearing whereof, the soundest of the Ministers in all the countrie were deeply affected, (doubting that beginning might lead to Brunisme in the end:) such as Mr Andrew Ramsay, Mr Alexander Henderson, Mr William Colvill, Mr David Dagleish, Mr Robert Knox, Mr Edward Wright, Mr Henry Guthrie, and many more; especially Mr David Calderwood, (who in the time of his exile had seen the wilde madness of the English Brunists at Amsterdam and Arnheim,) and therefore at the former General Assembly at Edinburgh anno 1639, these proposed to have an act against the same. But Mr Dick, Blair, Cant, and others of that stamp, opposed the motion. Others, instead thereof, wished there should

be a conference, whereby brethren might unite their judgments upon the question : And thereafter that, by private admonitions, they should prevail with these people to mend what was amiss. This was hearkened unto.

The conference met at Mr Henderson's chamber ; there being present on the one part, Mr Henderson, Ramsay, and Calderwood, Colvill, Dagleish, Wright, and Guthrie ; and on the other part, Mr Dick, Moderator of the Generall Assembly, Blair, Rutherford, Mr James Hamilton, Mr John Leivinston, Mr John Maccellan, and Mr George Dick ; and after reasoning at several dyetts, in end Mr Dick and all his adherents passed from their point, and agreed unanimously to this conclusion : That whatsoever had been the effects of their private meetings of persons from divers families for religious exercise, in the time of troubles or corruption, (in which many things are allowable that are not tolerable otherways ;) yet now when God hath blessed us with peace and the purity of the Gospell, they could not but disprove and discomend them, as tending to the hinderance of each family by itself, and prejudice of the publick ministry, and renting of particular congregations, and by progres of time of the whole church : Besides many offences that may come thereby, to the hardening the hearts of naturall men, and grief of the truly godly.

Moreover, Mr David Dick and his adherents, condescended farther to undertake, by their admonitions, to reclaim these conventicles, and make them leave off that way. Whereupon the brethren of the other part went from the conference well satisfied, expecting they would make conscience of their undertaking. But the event declared, that whatever they condescended to, was only to put by that Assembly ; for thereafter they were so far from performing what they had undertaken, that their admonitions turned to encouragements. Whereupon conventicles waxed more bold than before, and prevailed as in generall with the people throughout the west, that they met with no rub till they came the length of Sterline, where they found so hazar entertainment, as did make them quickly to withdraw, esteeming that town an unhallowed place. Yet else where they found welcome enough, (even in Edinburgh itself,) where they came to be so cryed up, that such as favoured and kept these privater meetings, were by the bigot sort esteemed the only godly people of the land, and others that opposed them calumniate, as being unfriends to piety : And hereupon this General Assembly at Aberdome took the matter to their consideration, whether these private meetings should be approved or condemned ? Mr Dick, Rutherford, and others of their stamp, pleaded so vehemently for them, (having the assistance not only of the most part of the Ministers, but all the ruling elders from the west,) that it was likly they also, they might tarried somewhat thereanent : Were it not that by Providence Mr Guthrie hapned to have the paper in his pocket, which contained the judgment of the brethren of the Conference at Edinburgh upon the question the year preceeding, and was subscribed by Mr Henderson and Mr Dick in their names. This paper Mr Guthrie kept up untill he saw the business like to miscarry ; but then producing it to the Assembly, and being read, and Mr Dick's hand at it for himself and all his party, Mr Dick and all his party were thereafter pleased to be silent : And very unanimously the Assembly made an act against these private meetings, and not so much as one man protested to the contrary.

Thereafter the Assembly appointed a solemne fast to be kept throughout the whole kingdome for a blessing upon the army : And so the Assembly arose upon August 8, having first appointed the next General Assembly to sit at St. Andrews on the third Tuesday of July 1642.

Upon Friday, August 21, the Scotts army entred England, Montrose leading the van : And that day, to encourage his sojors, he alighted from his horse, and waded through the river of Tweed on foot. Howbeit many thought he was turned to be a royalist. And on the 28 August, the Scotts army gained a signall victory at Newburn Foord upon Tine, which was on this manner.

The Earl of Stafford, (General of the King's army, which then lay at York,) sent the Lord Kennoy with 4000 foote and 2000 horse to guard that pass. So that when the Scotts came up, they found them so fortified on the other side of the river, that it proved difficult and hazardfull to beate them from their works ; yet resolved they to attempt it.

The first party ordained to advance was the Colledge of Justice troupe, (called the Generall's Life Guard,) commanded by Sir Thomas Hope yonger, son to the Advocate ; whom his father had bred, (as also all the rest of his children,) towards the love of the cause. But Sir Thomas and his troupe had scarce entred the foord, when they all wheeled about, and retired with disgrace.

Then followed a very gallant gentleman, Major Ballenden, who having with him but a small party, with undaunted courage went through, beate the English from their works, and cleared the passage for the wholle army to follow, who fell upon the English, and they at the very first charge fled all like madmen. Eighty are killed on the place, and 400 taken prisoners. The remainder of that day was spent with expressions of joy. On the morrow they were saluted with Commissioners from Newcastle, who came thither to treat for the surrender of the town. And upon Saturday 28, the army entred Newcastle, where they found out the King's magazine both of armour and provisions of victualls. As also they had opportunity to enlarge Mr Colvill, (who had been sent by them to the French King and Cardinall Richlieu,) who in his returne hapned to be caught at Berwick, and from thence sent prisoner to Newcastle.

On that same day Mr Henderson preached in the great Church of Newcastle : and after sermon, the Generall and Noblemen were feasted by the Lord Mayor ; and so was there great joy among the Scotts there. But that same day fell out a sudden and lamentable accident at home : The Earl of Hadington having ere then fallen avowedly from the King's side, and taken a charge under Leathe, was left at home with his regiment to attend upon the motions of the garrison of Berwick, and for that end kept his quarters at Dunglas : Where at mid day, he being returned from the fields, and standing in the close with about 60 gentlemen, the castle of Dunglas was blown up with gunpowder, kept there for a magazine, and one of the walles thereof falling that way, did in an instant bury him and all his company, and covered them in the ground so, as for a long time they were never more seen.

This tragical emergent was construed as men were well affected to the cause. When newes hereof came to court, the royalists there were not by far so moderate as the King was himselfe, whose sharpest expression was, that albeit he had been very ungratefull to him, yet he was sorry that at his death he had no time to repent.

The next day after the Scotts entered Newcastle, the Earl of Lothian was made Governour thereof, having for that service the command of 2000 souldiers allowed him. And that trust he well deserved; for his zeal of the cause was such, that albeit both his father and mother owed to the King whatsoever wealth or greatness they had; yet was he the very first that engaged against him.

Unto the Scottish army was granted for their allowance every day 850 lib. Sterling; whereof to be payed out of Northumberland 300, and out of the Bishoprick of Durhame 250, and out of the town 200 lib. per diem. And the army being thus provided, the Generall and his Comittie, for making good what they had averred in their declaration at the Causeywood, resolved on a supplication to be sent up to the King, then at York, for redressing of their grievances; and the same being subscribed, was inclosed within a letter direct to the Earl of Lanrick, Secretary, to be by him presented to the King; and the carriage of it committed to one William Cathcart. The King's answer by his Secretary was, that he had called a meeting of the Peeres of England to be at York upon September 24. Before which time he willed them to set down their demands in a writing particularly; and then to expect a particular answer to them. In obedience whereunto, having condescended on their demands, on September 8, they sent them to his Majestie, by William Fleeming, son to the Earl of Wigton. Upon hearing whereof, and other pregnant reasons, Generall Ruthven, upon September 25, surrendered the Castle of Edinburgh to the Comittie sitting there for the time, upon condition of safe conduct to himself and his souldiers, that their lives and fortunes should be safe, and to come forth with cocked matches, and be safely conducted to Berwick. All which was both granted and performed to them.

These emergents were very refreshfull to the Covenanters. But that which exceeded them all at that time, was, that on the same day wherein the King received the Scotts Supplication, there was also presented to supplication, signed by several Peeres of England, (in number 13,) wherein they craved a Parliament for redresse of all their grievances, and settling of peace betwixt the kingdomes. When the report thereof came home, then did the zelots say, that the Earl of Hadington and Mr Eleazar Borthwick had not laboured in vaine; for the work would soon begin in that kingdom also. The King was said to be much affected with the English Supplication: Yet he gave a faire answer, delaying till the meeting of the Peeres; and when they had met with his Majestie at York, on February 24, the conclusion was, that a Parliament should sit at London November 3, and in the mean time a treaty to begin with the Scotts October, 1; and the place thereof to be at Rippon. These were nominated of the English to be on the treaty: 15 Noblemen (whereof most part had signed the Supplication,) viz. the Earles of Bedford, Hereford, Essex and Salisbury, Warrick, Bristow, and Holland; and the Lorde Wharton, Paget, Kimbolton, Brook, Powlet, Howard of Estrich, Savill, and Dunsenore: And for the Scots, the Earl of Dumfermline, the Lord Lowdon, the Laird of Wauchton; the Sherif of Tevidale, Jo. Smith, Baillie of Edinburgh, Mr Alexander Wederburn, Constable of Dundee, Mr Alexander Henderson, and Mr Archibald Jonson.

The treatie being begun at Rippon October 1, was concluded on the 16 of the same; to be a cessation of armes till December 26: And that the treaty should remove from Rippon to London, to be prosecuted there in time of Parliament. Ratifying, in the mean time, that allowance formerly granted to the Scotts army of 850 lib. per diem; and the payment thereof to be weekly each Friday. And thus while all things prospered with the Scotts there, there hapned an emergent in their army, which threatened a rupture; for divers of the Nobility, such as Montrose, Erakin, and others, quarrelled that they were neglected in the matter of consultation, and bussiness contrived and carried on by a few. And on the other part, Montrose was challenged for wryting letters to the King, without the knowledge of the Generall and his Comittie. The copy of which letters had been sent them by some bed-chamberman, as many deemed, who searching the King's pockets while he slept, had found them. The rigid faction knew that my Lord Almond, Lievtennant Generall, was in his heart concurring with Montrose and his associates; and considered that if any provocation were given them, they were able to make a division in the army; for preventing whereof, they condescended to a faire transaction for that time, that bygones in both parts should be past, and matters thereafter carried on and managed without neglect or respect to any.

The Parliament of England met at Westminster on November 3; and the Scotts Comissioner who had treated formerly, had added to him, by common consent, the Earl of Rothes, the Laird of Richarton, and Hugh Kennedy, burges of Aire, who with the rest went to London to prosecute the work. The Parliament of Scotland assembled on November 13, and having re-established the Comittie of Estates, adjourned till January 14, 1641. The Comittie having sate down at Edinburgh, had newes that pleased them well, viz. that the Earl of Stafford, with the Lord Keeper Finch, were made prisoners, (which being furthered by the Scotts Comissioners, was esteemed good service;) as also that not long thereafter, the Archbishop of Canterbury had the same measure given him. But the Lord Keeper Finch and Secretary Windbanks escaped their hands by flight. And these commitments proceeded especially from the lower house, who were solicitors to the Peeres thereanent. And now having so far engaged against the King's servants, were the more carefull to oblige the Scotts army to stand sure; for the which end they borrowed from the Londoners 50,000 lib. sterling, and sent it in a propine to the Generall and his Comittie, to be by them distributed through the army. And this gratuity to be without prejudice of the 850 lib. sterling payable to them dayly. This was in December.

Upon the fourteenth of January 1641, the Scots Parliament met again; and having re-established the Committee of Estates, adjourned again till April 13. And then the Committee being set, the principal business that came to be considered concerned a band that was found among a number of Noblemen, wherein they had combyned against them that then ruled all. This band had been framed in Cumbernald, there being present the Earles Montrose and Wigton, the Lords Fleeming, Boyd, and Almond. All which subscribed at first. Afterward Montrose drew it to the Earles of Merchel, Mar, Athole, Kingorn, Perth and Kelly, Hume and Seaforth: The Lords Stormont, Erskin, Drumond, Ker, Naper, and divers others. But a long time the band is kept up as a secret, only for free-talking for the King's interest, and against Argile and the rest, with the Ministers that were of their party, made many to apprehend, that there was some band among them. And at last the Lord Boid being a dying, whispered something anent it, which gave men occasion to search: but was not so clear as to resolve them. Whereupon the Earl Argile finding the occasion of the Lord Almond's being at home in Calender, came and stayed with him 2 nights, and had from him a full relation of the whole business: and the discovery thereof being by Argile reported to the Committee, Montrose, and others of the banders, being at home for the time, were cited to appear. They acknowledged the bond, and gave reasons for their joyning in it: All which were rejected by the Committee, and they declared censurable: And indeed some of the Ministers, and other fiery spirits, pressed that their lives might go for it. But Argile and his Committee considered warily, that they were too strong a party to be meddled with that way, especially divers of them having command of regiments in the army. And therefore they resolved to pack up the business by a declaration under their hands, that they intended nothing against the publick, together with a surrendering up of the band; which the Committee having got, caused burn it. In the mean time, the King and the Scots Commissioners were in good tearmes at London, and they waited frequently upon him. But they soon gave him cause to alter his opinion; for without so much as once acquainting him, they emitted a declaration, (even when he imagined that they had been in the way of relenting,) wherein they expressed their forwardness against Episcopacy in England, and for the Earl of Stafford's blood and Canterburie's. And this the King took very ill, but was not able to help it.

The Scottish Parliament sate again April 13; and having re-established the Committee, adjourned again till May 26. And this Committee sitting, received from those at London on May 19, the certainty of the Earl of Stafford's execution, who being condemned of treason, had been beheaded on Tower-hill on May 12. And the Scottish Parliament sate again on May 25, and having re-established the Committee, adjourned again till July 15; because of an advertisement from the Commissioners at London, that the King intended to be present at that Parliament; as also that the King had written to the Lords of Privy Councill, and Magistrates of Edinburgh, to make preparation for him.

And after that adjournment, the Committee of Estates sate presently down on May 26; where came before them an unfortunate business, which began at Mr George Graham, Minister at Auchterarder, who was challenged anent a speech, uttered by him in prejudice of the Earl Argile. He acknowledged the speech, and gave for his author, Mr Robert Murray, Minister at Methven; who being present, confessed as much, and gave for his author the Earl of Montrose; and Montrose being challenged, confessed the speech, and condescended on the expressions, viz. when the Earl of Athole and these eight gentlemen with him, (whom Argile made prisoners,) were in Argile's tent at the foord of Lyon, Argile spake publicly to this sense: That they had consulted lawyers and divines anent deposing the King, and had attained resolution that it might be done in three cases: 1. Desertion; 2. Invasion; 3. Vendition: And that once they thought to have done it at the last sitting of the Parliament, and would doe it at the next sitting thereof. Montrose gave for his author, Mr John Stewart, Commissar of Dunkeld, one of the gentlemen who was with the Earl of Athole, and undertook to produce him. Therefore, lest Montrose's enemies should have dealt with Mr John, to withdraw and leave him in the hazard, he poasted away a young gentleman speedily for him, with whom he came to Edinburgh on May 30, and on the morrow appeared before the Committee, and subscribed a paper, which affirmed all that Montrose had spoken in his name. Whereupon Argile, breaking out in a passion, with great oathes denied the same, and also every thing he had charged him with; whereanent many wondred. Always the Committee sent Mr John to the Castle of Edinburgh: And some few dayes thereafter, Balmerino and my Lord Dury being sent from the Committee to examine him, and inticed him that he would rather take a taske on himself than to suffer Argile to ly under such a blunder: And being both profound men, they knew what arguments to make use of for that effect; and Mr John considering, that as, on the one part, such was Argile's power, that he could not only preserve his life, but also raise him to preferment, if for his clearing he would convict himself: And, on the other part, that a wonder lasts but nine nights in a towne (as the proverb hath it,) therefore he condescended to this motion to his own ruine. So on the next day he wrote a letter to my Lord Argile, wherein he cleared him of the speeches, and acknowledged that he had forged them out of malice against his Lordship. Lykeas he confessed, that by the advice and persuasion of the Earl Montrose, Lord Naper, and Sir George Sterline of Keir, and Sir George Stewart of Blackhall, he had sent a coppie of these speeches to the King with one Captain Walter Stewart. But the Earl Argile having communicate the letter to the Committee, they sent watches to attend the Captaine's returne, who having caught him at Coburnspath, and falling upon the letters, brought him both before the Committee, and being examined there, was comitted prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. Lykeas on July 9, Montrose, Keir, and Blackhall, being all cited before the Committee, were sent also prisoners to the castle. And the reward Mr John received for condemning himself, was the losse of his head: So as the way he took (out of a posterous love to his life,) for his preservation, turned to his destruction; which fell out on this occasion. The Earl Argile and the Committee consulted the King's advocate, Sir Thomas Hope, and others, on the question: Whether seing Mr John had absol-

ved Argile of these speeches, and under his hand had taken on the guilt of forging thereof, it was fit he should suffer, or otherways be pardoned and preferred. Their resolution was, that if Mr John were spared, that all men would imagine he had been bribed to make that recantation; and therefore it was necessary for Argile's further vindication, that he should suffer.

Whereupon the unfortunate gentleman was in the month of July condemned, and beheaded on a scaffold erected for that end at the cross of Edinburgh: And it was observed at his dying, that he had not that courage which is ordinary in a gallant man at his death. The reason was construed to be this, viz. an inward trouble for bearing false witness against himself, when he found the way he took to save his life proved the occasion and furtherance of his death. This did exasperate and made him quarrellous against himself, as being the occasion of his own death. And it was publicly talked, that he had expressed as much to his own friends, and specially to Mr Henry Guthrie, Minister at Sterline, whom he choosed to be assisting to him in his preparation for death: And for that end was alone with him that day which preceeded his death from three o'clock till eight: And the morrow, being the day wherein he suffered, from ten o'clock in the forenoon to three in the afternoon that he went to the scaffold, where also, at his earnest intreaty, Mr Guthrie waited on him, and left him not till he had received the blow.

The Parliament sate down July 5, where letters from the King were read excusing his not coming till August 5. After which it was resolved to adjourn it no more, and that the Parliament should sit dayly. In the meantime, for preparing matters against his coming, it was first concluded that Summons should be issued out against Montrose, that he might appear before the Parliament, August 13; and thereupon Montrose desired liberty of advocates for consultation; which was granted him. But the most part of them were so bigot, that not one of any eminent account would come near him: and necessity enforced him to call for one Mr John Gilmore, (whose greatest employment formerly had been to agent the bussines of Bishop Sydsferse and some others of that order;) who consulted the Earl of Montrose; which albeit it was thought but a mean preferment for the time: Yet afterward it proved very gainfull to him; for that he being once called Montrose's advocate, other Royalists, as they had ado, employed him, and so the number increased his employment, whereby at length he became considerable.

Now by this time the treaty at London was closed, and the return of the Scotts Commissioners expected dayly; they having obtained all their desires, and among the rest that the whole arrears of 850 lib. payable per diem, payable to the Scotts army, should be satisfied before September 1, against which time the army was to disband. But also by and attour this, the Parliament of England, (under the name of Brotherly Assistance,) was to advance to the Scotts the sum of 200,000 lib. Sterling, to be payed at two termes, viz. the one half thereof at midsummer 1642, and the other half at midsummer 1643; as the statutes of the Parliament of England of the 19 and 29 days of June 1642 beares.

The news thereof was very acceptable to the Covenanters here at home, especially the leading men of both Estates, who well knew that their share would be therein: But Royalists were mightily dejected therewith, conceiving that the Parliament of England was not so prodigall as to grant such a sum, (where nought was owing,) unless they had obtained of the Scotts a secret engagement to be on their side as soon as they should begin to stirre.

The Assembly sate down at St. Andrews July 20; and before the election of a Moderator, transported it to Edinburgh, where it was prosecuted: And the reason given for the novation was, because the Noblemen comissionate to be ruling elders therein were so implicated with the affairs of the Parliament at Edinburgh, that they could not come to St. Andrews; and therefore the Assembly behoved to go to them. As also Mr Alexander Henderson (whom they designed to choose for their Moderator,) was yet but upon his journey from London, where he had attended the treaty: So the Assembly behoved to intermit till his arryveall. At length he came, and so the Assembly sate down at Edinburgh 27, he being chosen Moderator thereof, and arose again on August 9. The Earl of Weemes was the King's Commissioner at that Assembly, who complied with them in whatever they desired. On August 13, Montrose was brought before the Parliament, and having replied to his challenge, was continued till the 24, and remitted to his prison. Lykeas Summons were also issued out against the Lord Naper, and the Lairds of Keir and Blackhall, to compeare on August 28.

But the King came to Halyroodhouse August 14, accompanied with the Prince Palatine and the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis Hamilton, the Lord Willoughbie, and others; having in his way dined with General Lesslie, and taken a view of the Scottish army. On Tuesday the 17 the King came to his Parliament, and therein sate constantly thereafter. The Lord Burleigh being President at that current session; who had got that employment because he had been an implicate follower of Argile, though otherways no great plotter. But at last Balmerino was chosen President, who indeed had qualification and parts sufficient for it. Upon the noise of his preferment thereto, there were different conjectures what his deportment toward the King would be, seeing his obligations to him were more than ordinary: for his father had by King James been preferred to be President of the Session and Secretar of State: Thereafter made Lord Balmerino to be derived to his eldest son, (now President of this Parliament,) and his second son Lord Cowper. Finally, for abusing his trust anent the letter to the Pope, he being condemned to suffer, the King gave him a remission. And further, the Lord Balmerino his son, besides that his late Majestic continued to him his father's estate and honour, the King that now reignes had expressed a singular mercy to him; for being, because of that paper, reflecting on his Majestic's government, (which in the year 1633 he had framed, and it came afterward to be divulged,) condemned to die; yet the gracious King reprived him, and in end gave him a full remission. Hereupon it was imagined that he would be very tender of the King's interest. But in that they were all quite mistaken. No obligation had any influence upon him to make him gratifie the King in the least.

Sir Robert Spotswood, President of the Session, and Sir John Hay, the Clerk Register, compeared before the Parliament as incendiaries, and were sent to the Castle. Lykeas on the 24, the Earl Montrose compeared, and was continued again to another dyet; and also the Lord Naper, and the Lairds of Keir and Blackhall, appeared upon the 28, and were continued.

And by this time the Scotts army returned home from Newcastle, and was disbanded; being (before their removal,) satisfied of that summ of their arrears allowed for their dayly maintenance; as also having received the summ of 80,000 lib. sterling, promised to them by the Parliament of England to be payed at that time as a part of that summ of 200,000 lib. sterling, conditioned by the Scotts under the name of Brotherly Assistance. And on August 30, arryved at Edinburgh, Commissioners from the Parliament of England, to attend this Parliament: viz. the Lord Howard, and four of the House of Commona.

Matters as yet went on very plausibly in Parliament; the King giving way to whatsoever they proposed. And so their aimes were disappointed for the time, while they pressed such things as themselves a King could never have granted nor could aggrie to, whereby a rent might have ensued. At the length, by a rumour suggested to the Earl Argile, (as he affirmed,) concerning a plot intended by Lodouick Earl of Craufurd, Colonnell Cochran, and Lievtenent Col. Stewart, against the Marquis Hamilton and him; they, on 12 October, withdraw abruptly to Kinneil. There wanted not enough that suggested to the King that the plot was but pretended: their maine designe being but to make a publick rupture, presuming that upon their removing the Parliament would have broken up; and it seemed the King was not without that apprehension himself: for that day he heard they were gone, he came up to Parliament on foote, accompanied with many Nobles, and above 500 Gentlemen that adhered to him: And in the Parliament he had a speech which reflected sore on the Marquis of Hamilton, whereby he obtained that notwithstanding their removal; yet the Parliament sate still, and resolved not to break up.

The Royalists laboured much with the King to have them declared enemies, and to have attempted something against them, which they thought was very feazible; but such was his goodness, that insted thereof he consented to confine the three alleaged plotters untill they should be tryed, and invited Hamilton and Argile to returne. Whereupon, on the morrow, they came to him at Haliroodhouse, and kissed his hand; being (as Royalists alleaged) glad of an oportunity to returne, since their designe had failed them of getting the Parliament broken up. And the plot whereupon they leaped out being tryed to the outmost, nothing was found in it. So the three plotters were enlarged: And all the ground Argile could give resolved on this for charging them, that one Captain William Stewart, an Orknay man, had informed him anent it. This Captain Stewart being generally known to be rash in his speaking, and by his basenes being become ridiculous: And many concluded, that any who had known this Stewart so well, would never have been affected with any thing that he could have informed, so as to have taken that course, except there had been a design in it. However, they being returned to Parliament, there was no more stirre in it; and his Majestie condescended to every thing whatever they desired to propose.

Anent the offices of state they made an act, that the King might not dispose of them at his pleasure; but the same to be settled by consent of Parliament, and according thereto. So the Earl of Lothian was made the Chancellor, which fell out by this occasion: The King nominated the Earl of Morton to that office, which his son-in-law Argile, in face of Parliament, opposed with much heate; whereupon the King passed from it, and nominated Lowdon, to which the Parliament consented. In like manner the King nominated Lord Almond to be Thesaurer, but that was likewise crushed, and the King yeilded to that which the Parliament pressed: viz. that the office should be discharged by a committie of four, viz. Argile, Lothian, Glencairn, and Linsay. The Earl of Roxburt was continued by Parliament to be Lord Privy Seall; for albeit himself had from the beginning sided with the King, yet he was thought no great enemy to the cause, in regard that his only son Henry Lord Ker did, in the year 1639, very unseasonably, leave the King, and joynd to the Covenanters, even while the King his army lay at the Birks; and there at Dunslaw, in his Majestie's view, (which Royalists thought he would no have done, his father-in-law being such an awfull and austere man,) without his connivance. The Earl of Lanrick was settled by unanimous consent in the office of Secretary, and Sir James Galloway secluded, who till then pretended to it. Sir James Carmichaell was continued Thesaurer Depute, which he well deserved at the Covenanters hands; for thogh he was the King's creature, having formerly been his carver, and afterward preferred to be Justice Clerk, and then Thesaurer Depute; yet was he as forward in the cause as any other whatsoever. Sir Thomas Hope was continued to be the King's Advocate, who did the Covenanters better service than he was willing should be known. Partly his flattering carriage did so insinuate him with his Majestie, that (against informations enew) his Majestie was ruled by him in most of his affaires that passed under his hand, whereby he (being mercenary) did exceedingly enrich himself. Moreover, Mr Alexander Gibson younger of Dury was knighted, and made Clerk Register; and Sir John Hamilton of Ormiston was continued Justice Clerk.

It was also enacted in Parliament, that the nomination of Councillors should be with consent of Parliament, and according thereto. An election being then presently made, that as some of the ancient nobility were kepted on, whom, for the eminency of their place, they are ashamed to cashier; so there was an addition made of many Noblemen, Gentlemen, and some Burgers, alwayes all forward in the cause, whereby the major part of the Councill (as now constituted,) being for them, so were they sure the cause should receive no prejudice by their acts thereof.

It was also enacted that the places of the Session also should be filled by consent of Parliament; there being four of the Lords thereof that on the 12th of October, the King, viz. President Spotswood, Sir John Hay, Sir Patrick Nisbet, and Sir William Elphinston. They were all continued, and in their roomes were placed Sir John Leslie of Newton, Sir Thomas Hope younger, (who

also was made Justice General,) Mr Adam Hebburn, and Sir Archibald Jonson, clerk to the General Assembly, both which are knighted, as also Mr Jonson had a large pension allowed him; and there was also another judicatory established under the names of the Conservators of the Peace, their employment being, to order all things whereby the peace of the land with the neighbour kingdome might be preserved. This consisted of all the prime Covenanters. There was also a commission appointed for receiving from the Parliament of England the sum of 200,000 lib. sterling, condescended, as is said, to be payed at the foresaid termes, under the name of Brotherly Assistance; and on that commission were many appointed to sit, after the rising of the Parliament, whereof but a few were called when the summes were received and distributed.

A Comittie was also appointed for triall of the Earl Montrose, and the rest of the Royalists imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh; and the said Comittie was to report to the King whatever was found against them, to whom the Parliament had remitted their censure. Whereupon, at the rising of the Parliament, they were also enlarged, upon security to attend the Comittie as they should be called. Lykeas the Bishop of Murray, prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, was enlarged, and General Ruthven restored from his forfeiture; yet nothing was done anent the restitution of his money. The King also bestowed honours upon divers of them: And first the Earl Argile made Marques thereof; General Leslie is made Earl of Leven, and keeper of the Castle of Edinburgh; the Lord Lindsay made Earl thereof; the Lord Lowdon made Earl of Lowdon; and the Lord Almond is made Earl of Calender; and the Lords of Didop and Arbuthnot made Viscounts: And Mr Andrew Murray having been, by David Vicount of Stormont, preferred to the Lordship of Balvaird, and after, in the year 1633, knighted by the King, is now made Lord of Balvaird. Manie also of the prime Covenanters obtained great pensions. But one thing was remarkable, wherein the King shewed himself obstinate, and this was concerning the Lord Balmerino; being pressed to take notice of him, either with honour, office, or pension: And indeed his Majestie's friends advised him, that seeing he had made choice of that way to gain his enemies, (by conferring favours upon them,) he would not neglect him; but nothing that could be said, or done or said, prevailed with his Majestie towards that end; so sensible was he of Balmerino's ingratitude above all others.

The good King's bounty was also extended to the men of the church, to whom he owed as little as to any. To Mr Hender-son, (the most eminent among the covenanted brethren,) he gave the rent of the Chappell Royall, (esteemed in former times a morsell for a Bishop;) and Mr Gillespie had a large portion conferred upon him.

The Professors in Universities had their provisions largely augmented out of the revenues formerly belonging to the Bishops; and also out of them large portions were allowed to cathedrall churches through the land. And for obliging the rest of the Ministers to continue fixed in the cause, the Parliament ordained a Commission to sit in January next, for augmenting their stipends, and bringing them to a competency. And by this time certaine intelligence was brought of Rebellion of Ireland; whereupon the English Commissioners desired the King to accelerate his return into England. To which the Parliament assented, as also offered to raise an army for helping to the suppressing it, providing the Parliament of England would be at the charges of maintaining the same. The English Commissioners applauded the motion, and prayed the Parliament to appoint Comissioners to repaire to London, to treat on the conditions. So there were nominate to goe, the Earls of Lothian and Lindsay, the Lord Balmerino, Sir Thomas Morton of Cambo, Sir Thomas Hope yonger, Sir Archibald Jonson, and Sir John Smith, a Baillie of Glasgow, and Patrick Bell, Provost there, and Mr Robert Blair, Burges of Irwine: all so furious in the cause, as made the Royalists to talk of it broadly, That, beside the Irish bussines, they would also kindle a fire of rebellion in England ere they returned; and it was too apparent that so they did.

The election of Commissioners being had in Parliament, November 16, on the morrow an act was made for a publick thanksgiving to be kept throwout the kingdom on January 19, for our peace now happily established: And so the Parliament arose on Wednesday the 13th day. In the close whereof, the Earl of Lowdon, in name of the Nobility, Sir Thomas Hope, in name of the Gentry, uttered congratulatory speeches and orations to his Majestie, for giving them full liberty and satisfaction in all things. So that now a contented King was to part with a contented people: And the great gunnes of the Castle were discharged as an eccho to their discharge. As also that night the King feasted all the Nobility in the great hall in Haliroodhous; after which there were mutuall farewells multiplied. And on the next morning early, the King began his journey for London.

After which departure, men's judgments were very different anent the way that his Majestie had taken in bestowing such favours on his adversaries, and making them the predominating party in all judicatories; for albeit all aggried on this, that his Majestie's designe in so doing was to oblige and endear them to him; that if any stirre should break out in England, (whereof even then there was some appearance,) they might at the least not joyn against him. Yet Malignants, (for so were all called that owned the King,) presumed they were so deeply engaged, that no favours could bribe them to indifference. Others thought, and more truly, that all that he had done was only to weaken and ruine himself, and all cast away on those on whom they were bestowed; and that he had overlooked and neglected Noblemen and others that were really for him: They could less understand what state policy would be therein: And indeed whatever his Majestie's draught might be for it, possibly to ingratiate himself more deeply with the Covenanters; while they saw his Majestie only to make such a conquest of them that he cared not for others. It produced this effect indeed, that divers who formerly engaged for him, choosed thereafter to desist and meddle no more: Such as Sir Donald Graham, the Lairds of Gight, Bamf, Fotherance, and others: And even those who were of most generous spirits used to say, That men ought to doe what belongs to conscience and honour; but if any engage for him in hopes of a reward, he may be happily disappointed. Yea, the Lord Carnwath, (whatever his personall qualities might be, he was largely more faithfull then all

others who had tasted deeply of his bounty,) spake to this sense in a very public auditory; that he would go for Ireland and joyne with Sir Philemon Ro. Oneall, the chief Commander of the rebels, and then he was sure the King would preferre him.

But yet the Nobility and other prime Covenanters, for a while after his removeall, shewed themselves as if they intended peace. But the inferiours began to call it our duty to press a Reformation in England: Yea, and the wives of Edinburgh, (whose help was ay when the cause was at a dead list,) cried out against all, especially Ministers, who were of any peaceable temper, and would never be contented with the Reformation we had already obtained: Yea, herein they deboarded so far, that they spared not Mr Henderson himself, upon an alleadgeance that the King's respects to him had wrought him to a moderation: And when the common sort of them had gone this way, (it being well enough known, that they spake not be guesse, but had their leassons taught them,) that men began more clearly than before to foresee and discover what might be the designe of the great ones.

About this time the Earl of Lauderdale began to shew himself forward: His son, the Lord Metellane, had been so from the beginning. But the father withdrew at the first, and joynd himself to the King; which then made many to say, that Lauderdale had chosen the surest way of any: For if the Covenanters prevailed, then his adhering to them for his son's zeall would procure quarters to him; and if the King prevailed, then his son's zeall would expiate his father's malignity. Always his siding with the King, obtained to him from the King, the gift of the Lordship of Mussilburgh, (reckoned worth 20,000 merks a year;) but having gained this, he turned the clean contrary way.

But manie sieing this change, did at first imagine it had been out of policy to have got the King's gift to pass the sealles; which, as it could not be without their good will that ruled the Exchequer; so would they not have done such a favour to any Anti-covenanter. But his after acting for a long time refuted that opinion, and declared the reality of his change; for that he became so zealous in the cause, that I myself, and many more, heard him say, in a very publick meeting, that he hoped to sie the cause not only go through England, but also in like manner carried to the walles of Rome. The Earl of Dunfermilne's way went somewhat near to the other, whose worthy father had been by King James preferred to be Chancellor of Scotland and Earl of Dunfermilne: And had also the honour that King Charles, (then Duke of Albany,) being educated in his family in his infancy. Upon the which reason it was, that his Majestie carried more than ordinary affections to him and his son; and of late gifted to him for his lifetime the whole revenue of the Lordship, reckoned worth 1000 lib. Sterling yearly. And yet, notwithstanding he was so forward in the cause, that he had ever been chosen for the primest Commissioner in all their applications they made to the King; which was a trust they would not put upon any of whom they had not certaine persuasion that he was fixed their way.

The Comittee appointed by the Parliament for the trial of the Earl Montrose, and the rest who had been his fellow prisoners in the Castle, did sit throughout January and February: And having called them often before them, closed their trial against the 1st of March, and sent their report thereof to the King. But nothing of any great matters broke out against any of them at home: And that which was most adverted to was, that my Lord Sinclaire's meddling with Montrose had yet produced nothing to doe him harme; whereof the cause was this: In the month of June by past, when first Montrose was prisoner, his chamber in the Canogate where he lay, being searched by order of the Comittee, and no paper of correspondence with the King found, (then more furious in the cause,) there afterward was commissionate to goe to Old Montrose, (the Earl's chief dwelling,) and search what he might find there to militate against him. At his coming, he broke open the cabbines, and found nothing of publick concernment; only instead thereof, he fell upon some letters written to him by Ladies in their youthful years, flowred with Arcadian complements, which (being divulged) might possibly meet with a favourable construction, were it not that the hatred born to Montrose made them to be interprete to the worst. The Lord Sinclaire's employment being only to search for papers of correspondence in reference to publick affaires, and he was much blamed by men of honour and gallantry for publishing these letters; but the rigid sort held him in great esteem. And by this time the Scottish Commissioners at London advertised their friends at home, that they had settled with the Parliament of England anent an army of 10,000 men, to be sent over from Scotland to Ireland; and Craigfergus to be their hove quarter, and their maintenance to be afforded by the Parliament of England; and therefore willed them to goe about their levies. But in the mean time, there were two honourable gentlemen of the name of Stewart, viz. Sir Ro. Stewart and Sir William, who having their estates in Ireland, by the gregarian modell of countrymen, most of their own nation, hardened to endure all extremities, acted so valourously against the Irishes, as before the arrivall of the Scotts forces from Scotland, had much broken their fury; and therefore deserved they to be eternized in all records. But there came worse newes afterward anent a rupture betwixt the King and Parliament, which began, and being like to grow remedlesse, for that his Majestie having gone in person to the House of Commons, and challenged six of their members, viz. the Lord Kimbolton, Mr Pim, Strod, Heslerig, Hamden, and Hollies; the House declared this to be a breach of their priviledges; and the furious multitude (on that occasion,) became so tumultuous, that to avoid the affront, the King and Queen, with their royall children, behoved to withdraw, first to Hampton Court, and from thence to the Castle of Windsore. For a remedy whereof, the King sent a message to them, wherein he offered, (for gaining a good understanding among them,) not only to pass from his challenge against those six members, but also to deliver the Cinque Ports and the militia of the kingdom to the trust of those whom the Parliament should appoint.

How gracious soever these condescensions were, and such as never had any precedents in former ages, yet did not take away

the difference: And if the Scots Commissioners were Cinifios and Beautifios (as his Majesty suspected,) they have to answer to God for it.

The King had long ere this denuded himself of power to raise the Parliament, and given his assent to their association as long as they pleased: Whereby he had not any more any aband over their heads; and hoping that time would gain them to a moderation, his Majesty, with the Queen and their royall children, resolved to come north: And thereafter the Queen, with her daughter Mary, (who on May 2 had been married to the Prince of Orange, by the Bishop of Vren,) and the King, made his residence at York; and with him the Prince and the rest of his children.

Upon new advertisement from the Commissioners at London, at last the army of 10,000 men was levied for Ireland, and old Leslie made General thereof: And Argile and Lothian, and the rest of the rigide Lords, were Colonells of the regiments. But Montrose, and the rest of the Royalists, apprehended a great policy in this expedition; viz. that they might allways have an army in a readiness whensoever they should have occasion for them, to joine with the King's enemies in England; for it was well enough known that they had it in their designs to be united with them. However, April 2, the army crossed the sea, and arryved at Craigfergus.

While the King stayed at York, there passed severall declarations betwixt him and the Parliament for an agreement; but were so far from producing that effect, that differences still increased. And albeit his Majesty (being calumniated for authorising the Irish Rebellion,) did, for his vindication, offer to goe in person, and adventure his life for subduing it; yet they would not consent thereto; but opposed his going by a declaration to the contrary. But his innocency not long afterward by Shan Ochaan, commander of the Irish rebels, who from the gibbet, on which he was hanged for his villanies, confessed that himself hired a smith to make a counterfeit King's seall.

Meanwhile distractions grew still more and more, (notwithstanding of the fairest offers a King could give for accommodation; and became the more remediless, because of an affront which on April 22 Sir Jo. Hoddam gave to his Majesty, (Governour of Hull,) refusing to give the King entrance into the towne, and professing he had warrant for the same from the Parliament. But whatever his warrant was, divine justice payed him home for it and other miscarriages to his Sovereine; for there falling some jealousies betwixt the Parliament and him, both he and his son were brought prisoners to London, and there lost their heads by the same authority whereby he had keepled the King at the ports of his owne towne. But then, while matters were at an height betwixt King and Parliament, the General Assemblie's Commission at Edinburgh appointed a solemne fast through all the land in the beginning of May; it being become ordinary, when any plot or traitorous contrivance was in hand, to grace it with a fast, made all men expect some great matter was to follow; which was to send up the Chancellor to York, to deliver their advice to the King, and to offer their paines for accommodation.

It was expected the King should have allowed him to go the length of London; but it was said that his Majesty imagined there were too many of them there already: And therefore, instead thereof, dispatched him home again, to convene a frequent Councill against May 25. At which time Roxburt, Kinnowl, Lanerk, and Sir Ja. Galloway, came down from the King to press his point. The Councill being met, a very great number from Fife and the western shires, (having been privately advertised,) came thither, and joyned in a Supplication to the Councill, which was presented by Haddington and Elcho for the Nobility, Scotsraig and Niddrie for the Gentry, and two Burgers of Edinburgh for the Burgers, and Mr Andrew Ramsay and Mr Alexander Henderson for the Ministers, and with them one Mr Moncrief; craving that nothing should be acted prejudiciall to the work of Reformation, and treaty of Union betwixt the two kingdomes, ratified in Parliament; which Supplication was well accepted by the Councill, and thanks given for it.

The banded Lords, or Blackbanders, (for so all of them, and all other Royalists, were called at the Councill's meeting,) assembled in the Canongate, and joyned in a Supplication for the King his interest. Which being presented by the Earl of Kello, the Lord Erskin, and others; was rejected with great disdain, and the presenters checked and threatned for their boldnesse.

When the King heard of the result of that Councill's meeting, then began he to sie a storme brewing in the north, that, notwithstanding of the many favours, whereby at his being here, he supposed he had gained them to an indifferency at the least, yet would they unthankfully and unnaturally engage against him. Whereupon the Marques Hamilton, (then being with his Majesty, thogh not much trusted,) offered to come home and draw over Argile to his party; which if he had done, all other things had gone right. But being come, he and Argile, as it is true, they became so intirely intimate, that feasting was betwixt them daylie: And a marriage was also talked to be bound up betwixt my Lord Lorne and the Marques Hamilton's daughter. But it was found that, instead of reclaiming him to the King's side, the Marques Hamilton went alongs Argile's way; which being notified to the King, his next care was how to get them separate and rent assunder againe. And to this effect, William Murray of the bedchamber offered his service, (one who had been obliged to be as faithfull to the King his master as any Scotsman alive;) for not only keepled he him in his service from a childe, and preferred him to that place in his chamber; but also gifted him with wairds and other great maters, whereby he might have become hugely rich, if he had been frugall.

But Royalists thought Mr Murray's carriage very unanswerably to these great favours; yea, Montrose (professing to have certaine notice thereof,) affirmed that he was the man who in October 1640, sent to Newcastle the very doubles of his letters he had written to the King then at York: And it was no secret that, in the year 1641, when the King was in Scotland, he did by his

uncle, the Provost of Methuen, correspond with his enemies, and treacherously revealed his purposes to them : whereanent the King was sufficientlie informed by Montrose and others.

But such was his goodness, that (being himself of incomparable integrity,) he was no way inclynable to be suspicious of any. Whereby it came to pass, that both Mr Murray and others of his Majesties servants, (whose treacherous pranks were well enough known,) stood not the less in his eyes to the prejudice of affairs, and grief of all true-hearted Royalists. But William Murray being come down, went straight to Hamilton : and after these thrie had conferred some dayes together, they were separate, and made the report to go, that they were discorded, on the account of publick bussinesse : Whereupon William Murray returned to Court as if he had wrought a vassalage ; whereas the construction that Royalists put upon it was, that Mr Murray had learned them a policy more advantageous and conduceable to their designes than any that themselves had formerly thought upon. For now when Hamilton professed for the King, whensoever Royalists came to be in any capacity to act for his interest, Hamilton's place and parts would procure him the leading of it, and then he would misguide it of a purpose to bring it to Argile's hand : And this was the Royalists sense of that simulate division betwixt Argile and Hamilton. But upon the last Tuesday of July, the General Assembly met at St. Andrews, and Mr Robert Dowglas was elected Moderator. The Earl of Dunfermilne, his Majestie's Commissioner, presented to the Assembly a letter from his Majestie, full of gracious expressions to this Kirk ; and wherein he craved no more, but that the Ministers would, both by their doctrine and their own example, labour to keep his subjects in their duty. The letter being read and considered, the Assembly resolved to return to his Majestie their letter of thankgiving, wherein they promised so to doe. Yet upon the morrow there was a business gone about somewhat inconsistent therewith. The Scotts Commissioner, then at London, had writen down to the Assembly, the great appearance that there was of a Reformation in England : And for a proof thereof, sent a printed coppie of a declaration emitted by the English Parliament, shewing their intention to extirpate Episcopacy, together with a letter from some English Ministers to that effect. All which were read in the Assembly. And when it came to be considered what is incumbent upon the Assembly in that case, divers of the meeting were against it, that the Assembly should engage any wayes in reference to the matters of England, and waited till the King's Commissioner should expresse himself to that effect ; which had he done, they purposed to have been assisting. But since his Grace kepted silence, and said nothing for his Majestie's interest, they were so discouraged, as they said nothing, and made no appearance : And so it was resolved that the Assembly should write answers thereto, bearing the great content they had to be thus certified of the intended Reformation there, and wishing for the prosecution thereof till it were carried. The Lord Metellane was pitched upon to goe as the Assemblies Commissioner : And besides these letters which were publickly read on the Assembly, he had private instructions given him besides. This being done, it was in the next place moved, that the Assembly should nominate a Commission of certaine of their number to sit frequently, and correspond with the Parliament of England from time to time.

The establishment of that Commission was opposed by divers moderate men in the Assembly, out of a feare that it might encroach upon the affairs belonging to ordinary judicatories of the Church, and so prove prejudicial to them. But this objection was taken away by their profession who urged it, that this Commission was not to medle with affaires belonging to the ordinary judicatories ; but only to correspond with the English for promoting the works of Reformation there, and to endure no longer than the cause required. And so, by plurality of votes, the Commission was established. Thereafter the Assembly arose, on August 6, having first appointed the next General Assembly to sit at Edinburgh the first Wednesday of August 1644.

The next occurrence was of sad news betwixt the King and Parliament ; that both were going to arms. The Earl of Essex being by the Parliament chosen Generall of their foote, and Bedford of their cavally : And by the King, the Earl of Lindsay Generall of the foote, and Prince Rupert Generall of the horse, and Generall Ruthwen Field Marshell : And the King's stand-ard was to be set up at Nottingham August 22. All which came to passe.

Then levies on both sides being begun, the Parliament's greatest assistance both of men and money was from the city of London ; and in regard that most of the souldiers of fortune inclined for the King, their greatest care was for officers. For a supply thereof, some were sent for from Scotland, viz. Sir John Ramsay, Mr John Middleton, and James Hepburn ; whom they so welcomed that ere long some of them were advanced to be Generall Majors. Two more of Scotts men engaged for the Parliament, viz. Sir William Balfour, and Sir John Meldrum ; which was the rather talked of, because of the ingratitude they thereby betrayed to his Majestie in the beginning of his reigne, had preferred to be Lievtenant of the Tower of London ; a place of so high an esteem, and wherein the Londoners thocht themselves so highly concerned, that the first grudge that ever they were said to harbour against his Majestie, was said to be for that it is conferred upon a stranger.

In the beginning of September, the Scottish Commissioners returned from London, all except Patrick Bell, who died of the pestilence. And on September 21, that Commission of the Generall Assembly met at Edinburgh, to receive an account of the Lord Metellan's negotiation, who, by a long oration, told them of the great things he had done ; and then delivered to them the answer of the Parliament of England to the Assemblies message, shewing their resolution to abolish Episcopacy root and branch ; and to call an Assembly of Divines for modelling of a new government, whereunto they willed our Church to send up Commissioners.

But the next thing came to be talked of throughout the land, was a batell fought betwixt the King and the Parliament at Edgehill, October 13, where was great effusion of blood on both sides. This gave occasion to the Commission of the Generall Assembly to meet again at Edinburgh, November 15, to consider what was incumbent upon them to be done in that case : And while

they were about it, there occurred an emergent that was not pleasant to them. One Mr John Oswald, then Minister at Aberdeen, came as Commissioner from the Synod thereof, to crave their advice anent the increase of Brunisme in the north; and in speciall concerning one Gilbert Gardner of Tillifrosky, who maintained and spread the absurdest tenets thereof, which he produced to the Assembly in writing. Lykeas Mr Patrick Sharp came as Commissioner from the Presbitry of Hamilton for the same earand, and made speciall mention of one Mr Alexander Ties in the shire of Cliddaill: The Commissions advise, that these things and persons should be tenderly handled for eschewing offence to the good people of England, that favoured the same wayes. This being thus determined, the Commission resolved to procrastinate their resolutions in publick affaires until their next Session, and so arose at that time.

Thereafter came the newes, that both King and Parliament increased their armies: Besides the army the King had on foot allready, Sir Ralph Hopton levied another in Cornwall and Wells; and the Earl of Newcastle another in the Northern Shyres. On the other part, Sir Thomas Fairfax levied for the Parliament also in the north, and the Earl of Mainchester and Lieutenant Generall Oliver Cromwell, levied another; which, with that they had allready under Essex command, amounted to thrie armies also: Yet, in token they were afraid of the King's strength, the Parliament did in the meantime send down Mr Puckering to Scotland, to traffick for assistance: And shortly also after his arrivall they sent in a declaration, holding out the danger of religion, and thereupon inviting their dear brethren here to engage for their aid against the King. Upon hearing whereof, the Earl of Lanrick wrote a letter to the Secret Councill, in opposition to that declaration of the Parliament of England. And by plurality of votes, it was concluded that the King's letter should be printed and published, whereby it might come to the knowledge of the lieges; which being done, Argile and his complices, (who had dissented from the conclusion,) and the Ministers also, became so offended, that they made public detraction: And they sent presently to Fife, and to the western shires, to haste in to Edinburgh for remedy against the same. Being come to the town, they assembled in the Tailliors great hall; and, to afford them the better opportunity to seek redress, the Conservators of the Peace sate down also; and so did the Commission of the Generall Assembly. Whereupon the Fife men, and the rest of their gang, did first supplicate the Commission of the Generall Assembly to joyn with them: And that being done and granted, then both of them supplicated the Conservators of the Peace to deal with the Councill, to explain their meaning in causing print the King's letter, that it did not import the improving thereof; and to cause print the Parliament of England's letter of declaration: And both these were also yielded unto; and so also all the former favours of the King were nipped in the bud. But while this was in doing, a cross petition was framed by the Royalists, (who, upon the noise thereof, had assembled themselves also,) and it was presented by the Earls of Kelly, Hume, Drumfries, Lords Erskin, Montgomery, Levinston, Fleming, Linton, Drummond, Salton, Naper, Kircudbright, and Bagenie: But this was rejected by the Councill with as great indignation as the former. As also the Church Commissioners emitted a declaration against it, which was printed, and copies thereof sent to the Presbitries through the kingdome; with a strict order, under the pain of censure, to the severall Ministers to read the same in their pulpits, and comment upon it to their congregations.

The Conservators of the Peace, and Commission of the Generall Assembly, having thus engaged, went on more avowedly than before. So, in the next place, they resolved to supplicate the King for a Parliament and Generall Assembly; and nominate to go to his Majestie for these ends, the Chancellor, Sir Archibald Jonson, Mr Robert Barkly, Burgea of Irwine, and Mr Alexander Henderson. All which went except Sir Archibald Jonson, to whom the King denied protection: And at their way going, by order from the Church Commission, there was a solemne fast kept throughout the kingdome on the last Sabbath of February, and on Thursday thereafter for good success to them.

About the same time, the Earl of Kelly, and the Lord Ker, dying both of them, the rigide faction insulted thereupon, and spared not to condescend to say, that their death was in the way of judgment for complying and assisting to the cross petition: Howbeit it is certainly known, that both these Noblemen died very christianly, and were far from reckoning that among their sinnes. But in the end of February, the Queen returned from Holland, and landed at Burlington Bay. On the notice whereof, the Earl of Montrose poasted away to her, and convoyed her to York; which startled the King's enemies, conceiving (as he could not otherwayes,) that he would give her Majesty hard information against them: for counteracting whereof, Argile went privately to the Marques Hamilton, (for their profession at that time was, that they were discorded and at odds,) and thereafter Hamilton rode to the Queen, then at York. But before his arrivall there, Montrose had suggested to her, that albeit the King's enemies in Scotland did not yet profess so much, yet certainly they intended to send an army into England to joyn with the rebels there; and for a remedy offered, that, if the King would grant a commission, himself and many more would leap to the fields to prevent it; which he also intreated her Majesty to impart to the King at their first meeting.

But the Marques of Hamilton getting notice from the Queen, of Montrose's information and offer, refuted all; undertaking that, without an army for the King, he should make that people peaceable, and not to combine with England. Whereanent her Majesty, in his name, to give the King's Majesty full assurance, the Queen trusting Hamilton most, dismissed Montrose unsatisfied, and exhorted Hamilton to accomplish his promise with all diligence; condescending that (for an earnest penny of that great reward he might afterward expect,) he should presently be preferred to the title of a Duke. So she went forward to the King, then at Oxford, and Hamilton returned to Scotland; and having first acquainted Argile and his adherents, how Montrose's purposes were crushed, whereby they were freed from fear of opposition, they began to discover their intentions more publickly than before: So it came to be openly talked among them, that it was necessary they should levie an army to carry into England;

but not to side against the King, but only to mediate betwixt him and his Parliament. But Montrose and other Royalists conceiving, that how soon the noise came to the King's eares, (which experience did show had been too far abused,) he would then relish his overture, (which the Queen had rejected,) did frequently meet, but in no great numbers, lest their adversaries (who then ruled all the judicatories,) should have taken notice thereof, and so have proceeded against them. And those who used oftenest to meet with Montrose, were Sir Robert Spottswood, formerly President, the Earl Calendar, the Lords Erskin, Ogilbie, Naper, and sometimes Montgomery, who then professed to be turned their way. They advertised his Majestie, that there were in Scotland enough both of honest hearts and hands to act for him, and no want of any thing but only of a commission; which, if his Majestie would grant, his adversaries here might be kept under: But if he were wanting to himself till they had their army on foote, it would be out of time to attempt any thing against them. But Hamilton's power at the Court was so prevailing, that the King was still bewitched to rely on him and his promise at York, and utterly rejected the offer the Montrosians had given him. And Argile and his adherents being advertised how Montrose and his associates had addressed to the King, thought it to good purpose to essay, (now when Montrose had met with a disobliment,) if he could be gained to their side; laying his account that if he were brought over, the rest would scatter, and so they would be frie of their trouble. For this end, Sir James Rollock and Sir Mungo Campbell were pitched upon by Argile, and commisionate to go to Montrose and make offers, that if he would leave his counteracting and comply with them, all his debts should be and himself prefermented to the highest place of command in the army next under General Leslie. But Montrose, to gain time, (having still an expectation that the King ere long would perceive such discoveries as would incline him to the course he aimed at,) gave them a delaying answer; and so, after a fortnight, they returned to him againe: And he, to gain a further delay, professed he had some scruples of conscience; for satisfaction whereof, he desired a conference with Mr Alexander Henderson at his return from Oxford; which construed to be a good answer, and they promised that as soon as Mr Henderson arrived, he should be sent to him to resolve his doubts; and so they parted for that time.

In the beginning of May, the Commissioners returned from Oxford: And on the 9 of August, the Lords of Council, the Conservators of the Peace, and the Commission of the General Assembly, convened all at once to receive an account of the King's answer to their demands: And the same not being satisfactory to their demands, especially his Majestie's denying and refusing to grant them a Parliament at that nick of time: And therefore they fell to debate, whether they myght hold any Parliament without his warrant or not? And for resolution, had their recourse to Sir Thomas Hope, the King's Advocate, (but privatly,) their oracle: (though the King could not be perswaded to think so,) he being perswaded, told them that the lawes of the land allowed them not to call a Parliament without the King. But withall insinuate, how they might doe another thing, which would be as effectually to their purpose, and that was to call a Convention of the Estates, and gave them a practique thereanent which hapned in the reign of King James the 5th. Those that insight in the history of Scotland knew well enough, that this instance was no wayes applicable to the case now in debate: Yet they rested on this resolution, and according thereto, by sound of trumpet, published at the cross of Edinburgh, a Convention of the Estates to sit thereon January 22, requiring shires and burghs to make timeous election of their Comissioners thereto.

Lykeas the Commission of the General Assembly appointed a fast to be kept throw the kingdome on January 11, being Sabbath, and Wednesday thereafter following for good success thereto: And when the dyet of the Convention drew near, they dispatched Mr Henderson to wait on the Earl of Montrose for solving of his doubts: Who being advertised by Sir James Rollock of Mr Henderson's coming the length of Sterline for that end, met him at the Bridge of Sterline. They conferred together at the water side the space of two houres; and then parted fairly without any accommodation. But Montrose having retired to his own house of Kincairn, began after some days to consider that Mr Henderson's having made report to those that sent him, how there was no appearance of his turning their way, (on which they were wildly furious,) it might be feared that how soon the Convention of Estates were set, and fell to consider on business, a resolution might be taken to entrap him in their ambuscadoes: For preventing thereof, himself and his very intimate friend the Lord Ogilvy, withdrew themselves privily, and went away to the King, (then at Oxford,) where they found his Majestie still so confident, on the assurance of Hamilton sent him from York by the Queen, that nothing that they might inform to the contrair prevailed any thing upon him to attempt any thing for preventing.

The Convention sate down January 22: So did the Commission of the General Assembly, (for without the Ministers, that ruled all, nothing used to be done:) And the first thing that occurred to be debated in the Convention concerned the Earl of Roxburt, Morton, Kinnowle, Annandale, Carnwath, and Lanerk, who had lately come from court, and were challenged anent a letter written by them from Darby to the Queen, informing her Majestie of the intelligence they had got in their way concerning the designe of the Scotts to arme against the King: And many thought at first that the knowledge of this letter had been communicated to our great ones by some of their secret friends at Court; whereof they were thought to have store enough, even in the bedchamber: But ere long it came to be publickly knowne and talked, that it was revealed by themselves. Allwayes great offence was taken at the straine of it, and they were cited to appear before the Convention. The Earl of Carnwath, who had least friendship therein, fled; but the rest obeyed the citation, and, after much debate at severall dyets, the business in end was packed up; and the Convention proceeded in the more publick affaires, which were brought after this manner.

The Commission of the General Assembly framed a Remonstrance to the Convention, holding out the danger wheroin reli-

gion was by that course wherein his Majestie had engaged; and commisionate Mr Ro. Dowglas, Mr Ro. Blair, Mr Da. Dick, and Mr Andrew Cant, to present the same. This remonstrance being read in the Convention, was approved, and thanks given to the Commission of the Assembly for it.

The Convention did likewise earnestly desire, that the Commission would be pleased, by another remonstrance, to offer their best advice concerning remedies which had bin gone about, and after some days presented to the Convention. The intention and purpose of it being, that they should see to the case of their dear brethren in England, as their own; and bestirre themselves resolutely and actively for defending God's cause in their hands.

The Convention being thus animated and set on work by the Commission of the Church, did soon come to a resolution concerning that which long before the plotters had in their thoughts concerning taking of armes; yet knowing that the generality of people throughout the land favoured the King, and were of opinion that seeing his Majestie at his being here had given full satisfaction in all things concerning religion and liberty, (which they themselves had acknowledged,) and that still he was so far from attempting any thing to the contrary, that in all his letters and declarations, he promised, both by word and oath, never to alter or change from any of his gracious condescensions; and that it was very hard (upon a bare pretext of zealousie, that if he prevailed over his enemies in England he would overturne all,) to engage in the least against him: Therefore the Convention resolved to proceed soberly and by degrees; and the most which at first they resolved on was, that because of a rumour which some Ministers and others of inferiour rank had devised concerning some Mosstroupers in the south Borders, who were said to disturb the peace thereof, thrie troupes of horse should be levied instantly under the command of Sir John Brown to compece them. But their policy in that levie was easily seen by the Royalists: For John Brown finding nothing to doe in the south, (there being no Mosstroupers there,) led his troupes to and fro through the countrie, to terrify the disaffected people from whispering against the Parliament and Convention, which they spared not to doe as long as there were none in armes. But thereafter came one Mr Corbet to the Convention, being sent by the Parliament of England, who, besides other messages, (communicated only to the ringleaders of the business,) delivered to the Convention, and also to the Commission of the Generall Assembly, a Commission issued out by the Parliament for an Assembly of Divynes to sit at Westminster the first of July instant, anent the Reformation of the English Church. This was much talked of as a relevant ground for their effectual concurrence; and shortly thereafter more of that stuff occurred for making of a strong conspiracy.

The General Assembly sate down at Edinburgh on August 2; Sir Thomas Hope, his Majestie's Advocate, being Commissioner for the King. And indeed it did exceedingly dishearten some, that intended to have appeared for his Majestie's interest, when they did see him so much honoured and intrusted, concerning whose carriage they had been so often informed. Mr Henderson was elected Moderator, to whom the King, at his being here, had expressed so great respects. Whereupon for a space thereafter, he inclined that we should be content with that Reformation which the King had confirmed, and not to have meddled with the English either in Church or state. But long ere they had prevailed with him to goe their way, whereby indeed they gained a great point; for he was so looked upon and revered by the generality of the Ministers through the whole land, that very hardly could any thing be carried without him. But at the beginning of the Assembly it came to be publickly known, that the King had taken in the city of Bristow, and that he was so prevailing that he was advancing towards London; but had he continued his march, his enemies had met him with ropes about their necks, and submitted upon mercy; but instead thereof, he was led away by treacherous counsell to lay siege to Gloucester; whereby the Parliament had leisure to employ themselves severall ways for encreasing their strength, which then was very little: For Essex, with the remainder of his forces, (reckoned not to exceed 5000,) lying at Kingstone upon Thames, unable to attempt any thing, and that Fairfax and Manchester had as yet attained to no great numbers. But among other meanes the Parliament used, there came four Commissioners from it to this Assembly, viz. Sir William Ermine, Sir Henry Vaine yonger, Mr Hatcher, and Mr Herle, and with them two Ministers, Mr Martiall, (who professed to be a Presbyterian,) and Mr Hoy an Independent, and lately come over from New England. These presented from the Assembly of Divines at Westminster a letter, together with a declaration of the Parliament of England, (both to one sense,) viz. that they purposed to extirpate Episcopacy roote and branch, and introduce that which they myght find most agreeable to the word of God.

These letters being read, the Moderator had long discourse upon them; and then asked the judgment of the severall brethren, what was to be done in order to a returne? Their answer was, that himself and his associates should take the businesse to consideration, untill he asked the judgment of Mr Henry Guthrie, Minister at Sterline; who arising forth of his seate, spake to this sense: That he observed the Assembly of Divines in their letter, and the Parliament in their declaration, were both alike clear as to the privative part, that they would extirpate Episcopacy roote and branch; but as to the positive part, what they meant to bring in, they had so huddled it up in an ambiguous generall, as that whether it should be Presbitery or Independency, or what else only God knew, and no man could determine concerning it: And so long as they stood there, and came not a further length, he saw not how this church, (which held the Presbyterian way of government to be of Divine authority,) could take them by the hand: And therefore before the Assembly came to any procedure, they would be pleased to deal with these English Commissioners then present, to desire the Parliament and Divines assembled at Westminster to express themselves, and to be as express concerning that which they resolved to introduce as that they had done in that which they would remove.

The Moderator hamp'd a long time on Mr Guthrie's speech and discourse, yet made he no direct reply unto it. And, which was as strange, albeit very many in the house did in their hearts and conscience approve it, (as themselves afterward acknowledged in private,) yet not one of them did second it; whereby it came to passe, that the Moderator and his adherents had the bussines committed to them: And Mr Guthrie's reward for what he had so seasonably spoken, was, that all the zelots cryed him down as a rotten malignant, and an enemy to the cause: Conceiving that his pleading for the Presbyterian government flow'd not from any love he had to it, but only to stumble the work.

Howbeit the Moderator and his assessors, who, besides the leading Ministers, (such as Blair, Cant and Rutherford were,) the Marques Argile, and the Earls of Cassilis, Glencarne, Eglington, Lindsay, and Lowdon the Chancellor; the Lords Balmerino, Burleigh, Arbuthnet, and others, (under the names of Ruling Elders,) having treated at length with the English Commissioners, resolv'd to end in a league and Covenant to be sworne and subscribed through both the nations. And the same being compiled, was by them brought in to the Assembly August 17, and twice read over. Mr Mathow Brisbane, (a reverend and gracious man, Minister at Erskine,) desired only before men were urg'd to vote anent it, leisure might be given them after a few days, to have their scruples removed; yet even for that he was as much spoken against as Mr Guthrie was the other day. And without delay the question was stated, Approve, or not approve? And the roll being called, it was, by plurality of votes, approv'd: Each man being to answer to the question, yea, or noe, no more. Yet my Lord Metellane was taken with a thought of his owne, so as he behov'd to vent it; so that when his vote came to be asked, he arose and spok to this sense: How that on August 17, four years agoe, an act was passing for extirpation of it out of England also; and that being both trysted to one day also, he thought there was something in it, and men might thereupon expect glorious consequences to follow even further off than England, or all were done. This observation was much applauded by the most part, as having much quickness in it; howbeit others thought it but ridiculous.

But the next thing done in this Assembly was the electing of Commissioners to repaire to London to joyn with the Assembly of Divines for promov'g the work: And these pitched upon were, Mr Henderson, Mr Robert Baillie, Mr Samuel Rutherford, Mr George Gillespie; and these Ruling Elders with them, viz. the Earl of Cassilis, the Lord Metellane, and Sir Archibald Jonson. Thereafter the Assembly sent up, Dick, Blair, and Cant, and others, to the Convention of Estates, to present to them the League and Covenant, and to crave ratification thereof, which the Convention did with much joy. And so the Churches Comission being by the Assembly renewed for that year, and orders given for frequenting the meeting thereof, whereby a better correspondence might be kept with those who were Commissioners to go for London; the Assembly arose on August 19 with triumph.

And upon the 24, the Convention having ratified the Solemne League and Covenant, did, in pursuance of the ends thereof, at the Cross of Edinburgh, publish a proclamation, commanding all betwixt sixty and sixteen to be in readiness, upon twenty-four houres warning, to march when and whither they were to be appointed. And on the morrow, being 25th, the Convention having appointed a grand Comittie to sit constantly, with ample commission in all things that should occurre; then the Convention adjourn'd, being to reassemble when the said grand Comittie should give the call. Moreover, upon August 30, the Lord Metellane, Mr Henderson, and Mr Gillespie, and with them Mr Hatcher, and Mr Hay the preacher, began their voyage to London, for having the League and Covenant approv'd and subscribed there: and the rest of the English Commissioners being to stay here till the Covenant were returned.

Upon the arrivall of these Commissioners at London, there was great joy; and the League and Covenant (which they carried up with them,) was without delay approv'd and subscribed, and allowed both by the Parliamt and the Assembly of Divines; and thereafter returned hither. Whereupon the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly dispatched presently for London, Mr Baillie and Mr Rutherford, to shew with what solemnity the Covenant was returned and welcomed; and to joyn with the other Commissioners (formerly gone up) for promov'g the work.

Thereafter the Commission of the Generall Assembly ordain'd, that without delay it should be sworn and subscribed throughout this kingdome; and for that effect sent a very peremptory letter to all the Presbyteries in Scotland. And because they doubted most the Presbitery of Sterline, (in regard of the known dissatisfaction of the Ministers thereof,) Sir John Brown had orders to quarter his three troupes of horse there till it were done.

Upon the 23d of October, the Solemne League and Covenant was solemnly sworn and subscribed in the great church of Edinburgh by the Commission of the Church and Commission of Estates, together with the English Commissioners, viz. Sir William Ermine, Sir Henry Vane, and Mr Martiall, who were detain'd here untill that time: And then the whole Lords of the Council were by the Comittie of Estates warn'd, under strictest certificates, to appeare at Edinburgh on Thursday November 2, and there to swear and subscribe; which many did to eschew suffering, but not cordially. Only Hamilton, Lanerk, Roxburgh, Morton and Kinnowll, refus'd; whereupon orders were given that their rents should be sequestred, and yet nothing follow'd thereupon; for Mortone's and Kinnowll's estates were so distress'd at that time, as they were not worthy to be preyed upon, and the other thrie had friends in the Comittie.

In the meantime, there came news of hot work in England, as soon as the League and Covenant had been approv'd by the Parliamt and the Assembly of Divines; the people took such heart, that presently they concurr'd for recruiting Essex's army: And it being made stronger than before, he march'd away to raise the sidge of Gloucester; whereof the King having intelligence, rais'd

it himself, and marched towards him : And they encountred besyde Newberry, where there was a bloody fight, and great losse on both sides, on October 23.

The Committee of Estates being advertised hereof, proceeded the more vigorously to raise a strong levy : And it furthered the bussines much, that upon October 23, there arrived at Leith one of the Parliament's ships, wherein was 50,000 lbs. Sterling, sent by their Parliament to our Committee of Estates, for promoting the work : And old Lesly, (now Earl of Levin,) was without all controversie elected Generall as before. The Earl of Callender had the promise of a Lieutenant Generall's place, which he had formerly exercised ; but he declyned it. Neither did they much regard it, being not very serious anent it, doubting much of his affection, and having David Lesly to be preferred.

Moreover the Lord Erskin did obstinately refuse the charge, (which caused them afterward to doe him all the vengeance they could,) but the Sterlineshire regiment, which had been pressed on him, was embraced by another, who had as much reason as any man alive to have stood for the King, (and that was old Levinston ;) and as soon as it was noised that he had engaged, many prophesied that Callender would boote also ere all were done ; in respect that Levinston having most of his living and subsistence by him, it was presumed he would not have complied without his allowance. The Lord Montgomery also embraced a regiment, and so did divers others, who formerly had professed a dissatisfaction to the cause.

The Commission of the Generall Assembly, to shew their zeall to the cause, would needs have a regiment sent forth arrayed all in black, and therefore ordained every Minister throughout the kingdome (as he would be answerable,) to mount a soldier for making up that regiment ; which was put under the command of Arthure Erskine of Scottscraig, which many obeyed willingly, and others by constraint. The Commission also ordained a national fast to be observed the first Sabbath of January, and the Wednesday following for a blessing to the armies.

Now the regiments, by the midst of October, began to advance southward, and in their way received orders from their Generall to make their rendezvous by the middle of January, at Harlaw, within four miles of Berwick ; whereof the King having certaine information, the Earl Montrose, the Lord Ogilvie, and their adherents Lodowick Idarl of Crawford, Robert Earl of Nithisdail, the Lord Boyn, and the Lord Rae, began to be better looked on at Court than before. And the King could not forbear to exclaim against Hamilton, who by his confident undertaking to hinder a levy had rendered him secure, so that nothing is attempted to prevent his great detriment.

In the meantime, Duke Hamilton, (for his gift had passed the sealles two months ago,) and the Earl of Lanork, his brother, (presuming they had enough to say for themselves in their own excuse,) went from Scotland towards the King. But being arrived at Oxford, before they had seen his face, they were made prisoners : the Duke sent to Pudenins Castle, and Lanork confined to his chamber, from whence shortly thereafter, by meanes of James Cuninghame, (one of the King's servants,) he made his escape, and went away straight to the Scottish Commissioners at London, to whom he was very welcome.

The armie was, upon the first of January 1644, convened at Harlow, whether also came a Committee, (whereof Argile was the principall,) to attend the Generall, and be assisting to him in his Council. But at home there fell out, on the 5th of January, a tumult at Edinburgh, whereby the grand Committee received some affront. And it was occasioned by a motion of my Lord Balmerino's, (whose genius ever led him to be dexterous and diligent in plotting,) for ane excise to be imposed on severall necessar grounds, (as he affirmed,) to be a stock of credite for the better maintaining of the army. Whereof, as soon as the noise was spread, the whole citzizens, excepting some few, (that were most bigot,) arose in a tumultuous way, compassing the house where the Committee sate, and exclaimed against this act of tyranny and oppression : And they threatened that, unless that act were repealed, they should teare Balmerino all in pieces.

The Committee, to compose the tumult, discharged it at that time, untill the whole Convention of the Estates should meete to consider upon it, which was ordained on the 25th of January ; and this being intimate to the people, they disbanded. But Messrs Dowglas, Dick, Blair, Cant, were highly offended at the affront the Committee had received ; and also that the motion, (to which they had been concurring with Balmerino,) had prospered no better. And for a remedy, concluded, that the Commission of the Generall Assembly should sit January 17, to prepare the people against the dyet of the Convention, to give way to the excise, wherein the church-men were so dexterous, that, notwithstanding the fury they had shewed at the beginning, yet when the Convention of Estates assembled, not so much as one man in all the city was heard to speak against it : And so, by the authority of the Convention, the excise was concluded, and proclamation thereanent presently published at the crosse.

After which, the cause triumphed, and met with no opposition any where throughout the land ; for having now two armies, one in Ireland and another in England, they became formidable, that all men behoved to submit. The burglis were all cordiall for them, (none excepted,) and they became more furious than any other corporation. And there were of shires fixed their way, the shire of Fife, which had ever been forward in any thing that was called reformation ; and the whole western shires, (except Galloway,) viz. Carrick, Kyle, Cuninghame, Renfrew, and Clidsdale ; among all which there was not one man talked of to be disaffected, except only Sir David Cuninghame of Cuninghamehead and Brigend, and Mr Archibald Jonson of the Peill, Comissar of Glasgow. But the shires in the heart of the kingdom, viz. the three Lothians, Angus, Mearns, Perth, and Sterline, were not so generally affected their way : Yet they had in each of them some in whome they might confide, who carried through their affairs in the shires meetings.

In the southern shires, (Nithsdail and Johnson, and some of their friends excepted,) the whole clans were for them : and in

Tevidale, the name of Scot was violent beyond all the rest. In the north, their confidence was most in the Earl Sutherland, with the Forbesses and Frasers: Otherways the generality of the people did not favour them, except some particular persons, such as the Lairds of Inneis and Brody, and David Dowglas in Bamf, and some others. And this Dowglas is known to be zealous that way, only that he may procure employment to himself, wherchy to make up his benefite.

The greatest disaffection to the cause was benorth the Grampian Hilles, and among the Highlanders, and some of the nearest yles subject to Argile, (the western Highlands also,) and Glenurwhy, were for them; yet the eastern and mainland Highlanders were not so. And so the countries of Mar, Athole, Badenach, Lochaber, Kintaill, Pettie, Straithdown, Straithspey, with the most of the yles, were malignant, being conform to their superiors, viz. the Marquis Huntley, the Earls of Mar, Athole, Seafort, Murray, and the Lairds of Grant, Makintosh, and Lochaber.

And of the Ancient Nobility, many abhorred the cause and course; yet that bred them no discouragement, in regard they had no such retinue as to render them dreadfull or able to affront them in any case; which fell out according to the giddiness of the times: But rather by a way the King had taken in the beginning of his reign, at the which time he did recover from severall of them all their publick offices and heretable functions; and also had pressed them to quite their titles, (which formerly had kepted the Gentlemen in a dependence of them;) wherby they became so weakned, that now when they stood most in need of their help, they had no backing at all. No not the greatest among them, (except the chiefs of the clannes,) could command any to wait upon them except their domesticks or pages; yea, and among the Ministers, many there were that dislyked their way; yet for fear of suffering, complied therewith.

For now this new modell of the Generall Assembly, (notwithstanding of the fair professions made two years ago,) when it was first established at St Andrews, assumed a legislative power, and enjoyed obedience to their acts under great penalties: yea, they became so tyrannicall, as it may be wonderfull how so much cruelty and violence (as already began to appear among them,) could be lodged in the breasts of churchmen, who pretended to so much piety, as did Mr Dowglas, Dick, Blair, Cant, and others, who overruled the Commission at th'ir pleasure. Allwayes there being nothing but the worst they could doe expected of any who should hapen in the least to opposq them. This prevailed to make men submit for fear of persecution.

So all went well with the cause; and the Marques Argile, returning from the army, reported to the Comittie of Estates, and the Churches Commission, that after they had lyen some days before Newcastle, (which yet held out,) the Earl of Newcastle, with a considerable army being within it, they had before his waycoming crossed the Tyne at Newburn, having left Sir James Ramsden with five regiments on this side to attend it, and marched without opposition toward Sunderland. As also he reported, how shortly thereafter the Earl Newcastle, having left a party in the town for defending it, drew forth his army, and fell upon the Scotts; whereupon ensued a very hote fight, wherein the Earl Newcastle was so far worsted, that thereafter he drew off and marched with the remainder of his broken forces to York.

This discourse of Argile's furnished matter of rejoicing to Edinburgh; and the report went current, that no less rejoicing was in the army for his waycoming. In regard that, as this Nobleman was generally looked upon as not very stout; so the souldiers had an apprehension that his company and conduct was unfortunate in war, and that they could not prosper the worse, but the better, to be rid of him: Yet this being but a meere fancy, would have seemed to have merited no great observation; yet the Commission of the Generall Assembly laid such weight on it, as to esteem it a presumption that the whole army would turn Malignants: for preventing whereof, it was resolved that Mr Robert Dowglas should goe up and hold all right, (who having deputed Mr William Bennet to moderate the Commission in his absence,) began and accomplished his journey the week following.

And in the meantime, the Scotts army in Ireland, being in great want, and having no supply sent them, by their other former advertiments, resolve to come home; and ere the Comittie knew, two regiments, viz. the Lord Sinclair's (which marched to Sterline and took up their quarters there,) and the Lord Lothian's (which settled at Glasgow,) were newly arrived. Whereupon the Comittie dispatched the Earl Glencarne, Sir Mongo Campbell of Lawers, and Sir Frederick Hamilton, to deal with the rest not to stir: But before their arrivall in Ireland, Lawers owne regiment was also come ovcr, and quartered themselves in Clidsdale, in the Earl Carnwath's lands. With the rest, they prevailed so to remaine in Ireland, upon assurance that before the 10th of Aprile instant, a considerable supply should be sent them; which indeed was performed; and thus were all things quyet at home: and the Lords of the Comittie and the Churches Commission were very joviall at Edinburgh.

But this mirth was soon marred, by an advertiment they had from the north, that the Marques Huntly, (having the King's Commission for that effect,) had gone to the field with a considerable body of men; whereupon the Convention of Estates was called to meet on Aprile 20; as also the Commission of the Generall Assembly, without which nothing could be resolved. And these things being resolved, and the judicatories set, the first thing that occurred therein was the receiving the Earl of Lanerk, who being lately come down from the Commissioners at London, he appeared, and gave so deep evidences of his grief for his adhering so long to the King, with so malicious and bitter reflections upon his sacred Majestie, which (being ashamed) I forbear to repeat, although I was a near witness to them, as made his conversation to be judged unfained: And so was he received unto the Covenant, and acted thereafter so vigorously in the cause, that ere long time he was preferred to be a ruling elder.

The next thing these judicatories went about was, how Huntlye's insurrection should be crushed: for the which end, commission was given to the Marques Argile, in all haste, to levy thrie regiments; one in Fife, to be governed by the Lord Elcho; another in Angus, to be commanded by the Earl Kinghorne; and a third in Perthshire, to be commanded by the Laird of Free-

land. And, (that the spirituall sword might be concurring,) the summar excommunication of the ringleaders in that sturre was also concluded, viz. the Marques Huntly, the Laird of Drum younger; and Robert Irwing his brother, the Laird of Haddo, and Thomas Hay his servant, the Laird of Stethin and Tippetty, and Mr James Kennedy, Huntly's Secretary. The sentence was pronounced by Mr John Adamson, with great vehemency.

By this time Argile's thrie regiments were made up, and compleatly arrayed, and therewith he began to march toward the north. At the notice whereof, the Marques Huntly, (whose courage was like Argile's,) did very poorly disband; leaving his friends to their shifts, and himself retired to Stranavar, (an Highland countrie belonging to my Lord Rae,) to keep his lurking. The Laird Haddo, who had been with Huntly, and Captain Logie, the son of a learned Minister, (who for his loyalty had been twice already deposed,) with a party of souldiers, betook themselves to the castle of Haddo, and fortified it, so that it might well have endured all Argile's fury: But he coming before it, went more craftily to work, offering faire quarters to the sojors and all within the house, excepting the Laird himself and Captain Logie. The degenerate soldiers embraced the offered condition; and having first bound the Laird himself and Captain Logie with fetters, cast open the gates to Argile; who being entred, sent the two prisoners to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and shortly thereafter himself returned with triumph.

The joy which this success in the north occasioned to the Comittie and Commissioners of the Generall Assembly was not ended, when they were startled again with an allarm from the south: That the Marques of Montrose (for that title the King had lately conferred on him,) being accompanied with a considerable party of horse and dragoons, (which by the Earl of Newcastle's favour he had levied in Northumberland,) had taken in the town of Drumfreis, and there had set up the King's standard. This invasion was looked upon as more formidable than the other, in regard of the extraordinary abilities wherewith the Marques of Montrose was endowed, (even his enemies themselves being judges;) and therefore the Comittie of Estates concluded for the suppressing him, that forces should presently be levied, by calling forth the tenth man throughout the land beneath the Grampian Hills: And having condescended upon the Earl of Calender to be their Generall; and he without ceremony embraced the preferment, notwithstanding that before Montrose's withdrawing he had confederated with him for the end he was now driving.

And this Nobleman having engaged, went about his levy: But before he had made great progres, the Marques Montrose was repulsed, and forced to make a retreat, first towards Carlile: for that upon the appearance of a Scottish party led on by the Sheriff of Tevidale, these English he had brought with him, (being raw and untrained souldiers,) betooke themselves to flight. The reason whereof was judged to be, for that most part of them, (being levied in Sir Richard Graham's bounds,) had been corrupted by their master; who, owing his originall from a very low degree to an opulent estate, which he owed to the King's bounty, payed him home againe, as many others had done, who had the same obligations, with treacherous ingratitude.

Furthermore, for Montrose's attempt, the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly decerned summar excommunication of him and of the Earl of Crawford, with Nithisdale, and the Lords Ogilbie, Boyn, and Harries, that attended him. The sentence was pronounced in the great church of Edinburgh April 26, and very peremptory orders sent to the Ministers in all parts of the kingdom to be intimated to all congregations.

But notwithstanding Montrose's repulse, the Earl Calender proceeded on his levy: And having, on April 28, at Dowglas, mustered 5000 foote and horse, took his march from thence to Drumfreis; where he halted till Sinclair's regiment, (which quartered at Sterline,) should come up to him; yet having received from the Comittie strict orders, (that regiment being judged malignant,) removed from Sterline May 6, and went to the Earl Calender, (then at Drumfreis,) and in place thereof was sent to command at Sterline west quarters regiment, belonging to the Earl of Calender himself.

That towne is the more adverted to, both in regard that it was the most considerable passe in the kingdom, and also because of the dissatisfaction of the Ministers thereof, and also of the generality of the people to their way, especially the house of Mar, which hath the heretable right of the castle of Edinburgh.

The Generall Assembly sate down on May 26, at Edinburgh, without any Commissioner from the King. And in it the Commission of the preceeding Generall Assembly was approven, and thanks given them for their fidelity and diligence; and thereafter the Commission was renewed for the year to come. And so the Assembly arose on June 4, having remitted all affairs to the new Commission.

In the meanwhile, the Marques Montrose, after his retreat from Drumfreis, had not been ydle; for by this time having attained to a considerable number in the north parts of England, and therewith rowted the garrison of Morpeth, and victualled and fortified the town of Newcastle; upon notice whereof, the Comittie of Estates ordered the Earl of Calender to march into England, and instantly to fall upon Montrose. One part he performed, but not the other; for that having left Drumfreis, he marched in through Northumbland; but yet, instead of falling upon Montrose, (who then was in a considerable posture,) he directed his march towards Newcastle the straight way, and laid a scidge to it; a task wherewith he was well acquainted, having had most of his breeding in the Holland's warres. And before this time, Generall Lesly having left Newcastle, and drawn his army southward to join with the Earl of Mainchester and Fairfax, in beleaguering York, wherein was the Earl of Newcastle and his army.

And this was the very periode of time wherein the King's bussines began to decline: Whereof the main reason was said to be this; in January last, the King had emitted a sumoning declaration for the Parliment of England's leaving Westminster to sit at Oxford with him, with promise of pardon to all who should come hither: Wherefore at this time many of the House of Peeres,

and some also of the House of Commons, assembled at York, and there made fair promises of their loyalty; but most of them from false hearts. And this was one circumstance, they sent a letter signed by 54 hands, (which we saw at it,) to the Council of Scotland and Conservators of the Peace, holding out their dislike of the Scotts invasion, and wishing a faire and a just course to be taken for preventing effusion of blood in both nations, which otherways might ensue. The carriers of the letter (having Generall Leslie's pass,) were permitted to come and deliver it, and had also the liberty of a safe returning: Yet it was publickly talked here, that these who came to York on his Majestie's sumon intended not to be very faithfull to them; but rather by that stratagem, to doe to these whom they left behind them, better service then they could do by being with them; by advising his Majestie to courses tending to his own ruine.

But whether there was ground for this construction or no, I leave undetermined. But certaine it is, that their leaving Westminster, and coming to York, procured to them such trust, that his Majestie was led by their counsellors: So his affaires did more and more miscarry, and his most secret projects came to be understood by his enemies. And thereanent the most loyall and gallant Generall Ruthven warned his Majestie many a time to beware, but could never have it remedied.

The Parliament of Scotland sate down at Edinburgh upon June 4, there being no Commissioner from the King to inferre his interest: And Mr Androw Cant was, by the Commission of the Generall Assembly, appointed to preach at the opening up of the Parliament: Wherein he satisfied their expectation fully; for the maine point he drave at in his sermon was, the stating an opposition betwixt King Charles and King Jesus, (as he was pleased to speak,) and upon that account to press resistance to King Charles for the interest of King Jesus. It may be wondered how such doctrine should have relished with men brought up in the knowledge of the Scriptures: and yet such was the madness of these times, that none who preached in publick since the be-gining of the troubles had ever been so cryed up as he was for that sermon.

The cittie of York being then straitly besiedged by Lesly, Mainchester, and Fairfax's armies, the King sent Prince Rupert with his army for the relieff thereof: And upon the knowledge of their coming, they left their siedge, and retired their armics some miles off toward Longmastam Moore, and so, without any difficulty, the city was victualled. And had his Highness rested therewith, and gone home, all had been well: Or yet, if he had lingred till the Marques of Montrose's arrivall, (who hasted towards them with the men he had drawn together in the north of England,) he had both been much stronger and better governed. But before Montrose could reach him, he marched towards them, (who were but on their march, and not drawn up in order of battell, and never dreaming of the Prince's approach,) and having engaged fighting with them, at the first the success favoured the Prince: So that Lesly, Mainchester, and Fairfax fled off, and left their armies all in confusion, and went many miles ere they recovered themselves; and which is more, even Mr Robert Dowglas himself: But David Lesly with the Scotts cavalry, and Oliver Cromwell with that party he commanded, having quickly rallied, stood to it so eagerly, as they changed the fortune of the day, and made the discomfiture to be reckoned upon the Prince's side: Which was the lesse, for that it was within two houres of the sunne's setting before they engaged; and so the night coming on, prevented ane absolute victory, which fell out on the 2d day of July, 1644.

Of the Scots, (besides inferiours,) there dyed one Nobleman, viz. the Viscount of Didup, who being sore wounded in the fight, expired shortly thereafter; and that his fall was the more remarkable, in regard that being in his heart a true Royalist, not only embraced, but (by using his utmost endeavour and moyen,) procured to himself the command of a regiment, that so he might avoid suffering; which all at home were forced to undergo, that owned the King.

But after this unfortunate fight, the Earl of Newcastle escaping, the city was surrendered to Fairfax on ordinary conditions, and withall that no Scotts should be suffered to enter into it: Whereupon Generall Lesly brought back his army to Newcastle, to be joynd to the Earl of Calender then lying there. Prince Rupert at his returne from that battell, the Marques of Montrose came up to him, and after conference with his Highness, left with him his forces: And himself, with some few Noblemen and Gentlemen that attended him, came northward to Durhame, (which as yet held for the King,) uncertaine what course to take; for to stay in England, they were in danger to be caught by the Parliament's troupes, whose exercise ever since the fight at Marston Moore, had been to make a restlesse search for the fliers. And many who before lay by, now declared for them. And to come to Scotland, seemed yet worse, in regard he heard nothing of the landing of these Irish in Scotland, notwithstanding of the Earl of Antrim his engagement to him in the King's presence, when he received his commission, (for then Antrim did undertake to his Majestie to land 10,000 Irishmen in Scotland, to serve his Majestie under the command of the Marques of Montrose;) and besides, in case he should by misfortune fall into his enemies hands, there was no hope of mercy; their violence was now come to such an height, that now they were begun to cut off men's heads on scaffolds for their loyalty. And upon July 19, the Laird Haddo and Captain Logie were both beheaded at the crosse of Edinburgh, for being with Huntly in his insurrection: And shortly thereafter, John Maxwell of Logan, within the shire of Drumfreis, had the same measure given him in the same place, for being supposed to befriend Montrose of late when he chanced to be there. In like manner, Lodowick Earl of Crawford, and Generall Ruthven and Generall King, without any citation, were forefaulted at the crosse of Edinburgh; and the title of Crawford was by them given to the Earl of Lindsay, and he also made Lord Thesaurer of Scotland, instead of the four Commissioners which in the year 1641 the King and Parliament had appointed for that office.

These emergents might represent to Montrose how dangerous an adventure it was for him to enter within the bounds of his native country; and yet being spurred on by the restless councillor Necessity, he resolves to adventure his returne. And next

he began to bethink on the way, having no forces, and therefore he could not come avowedly, and even disguise wanted not hazard, all passages being well guarded with armed men; yet in his resolution he persisted.

But the unfortunate Earl of Crauford choosing to retire to the garrison of Newcastle, and the Lord Boyn to stay at Carlisle, untill he should hear from him; Montrose dispatched the Lord Ogilvy, (in whom he trusted much,) and with him the remanent Gentlemen that had attended him, with the instructions relative to the interprise he was now to attempt; who were so unfortunate as to fall amongst some of the Parliament's troupes, as they passed through Lancashire, to whom (after an hote fight) they were forced to render upon quarters: And so they were sent prisoners to Hull, from whence the Governour thereof did guard them with a conduct to Generall Leslie at Newcastle. But the Marques of Montrose being now separated from them, himself, and only other two, of whom he had made choice to attend him, viz. Colonell Si'bald and Sir William Rollock, taking on the habits of single troupers, adventured the journey, and without any opposition arrived at the house of Tullibeltan, (near to the selvedge of the Grampian Hills, where dwelt his very intimate friend Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie,) where he lurked for a few days long to hear of the Irishmen which Antrim had engaged to send over.

The first thing that refreshed them is the newes that the Scotts Parliament (having appointed a Comittie to sit in the meantime) had adjourned untill the 2d of January next; for that Argile behoved to go home and look to his country, because of an advertisement he had received that some Irishmen had landed there. And within three days after, the course these Irishes took came to be publickly known, that they touched at Arnamuchan in the coast of the west Highlands, and having there taken in and fortified the castle of Meagrie, committed to the garrison (which they had there placed,) two prisoners in custody, viz. Mr James Hamilton and Mr John Weir, Ministers, whom they had taken at sea returning from Ireland, where they had been getting hands to the Covenant and Solemne League. Thereafter they sailed eastward, and took land at the yle of Sklatta, belonging to Sir Donald Graham, from whence they marched to Badenach; all which came to Montrose's knowledge: And thenext day his joy was yet more encreased, by a letter from Alexander Macdonald, their chief commander, directed on the back, "For the Marques of Montrose, &c." and recommended to the care of Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie for dispatch, (Makdonald being ignorant for the time of Montrose's being in Scotland;) and Montrose having read the letter, wrote back to Makdonald, (who yet halted at Badenach,) that without delay he should come down from Badenach to Athole, where he intended to meete him.

On the morrow the Marques, and his trustie friend and cousen Inchbrakie, (having attired themselves in the habite of ordinary Highland Gentlemen,) went towards Athole; and arryving there, the next day they met with Makdonald and his people to their mutual joy. But the number of these Irishes, (instead of 10,000 promised by the Earl of Antrim to the King,) amounted but to 1200 at their rendezvous at Athole.

But as soon as Montrose had produced his commission, and began to command the men of Badenach and Athole, (who formerly had refused to joyn with Makdonald,) all of them did cordially arise in armes, and swelled Montrose's army to near 3000 men. The tyding hereof was not grievous to the Laird of Drum, and Robert Irwing his brother, who after Huntlie's disbanding to escape suffering were embarked for Holland; but by storm were driven back upon Cathnes, where they retired to the house of a gentleman named Sinclair, in whom they had near interest, expecting a shelter from him untill the wind should favour them. But a considerable price being set upon their heads, his greedy desire of the money made him betray them into the hands of their enemies, by whom they are sent prisoners to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, in which they stayed a time waiting for their doom.

The Comittie of Estates being certified that the Marques of Montrose was on the head of the Irish army and the Highlanders, (as the King's Generall,) did presently order an army to be drawn out of Fife and Perthshire for encountering them; the Fifemen to be commanded by my Lord Elcho, and those of Perthshire by the Earl of Tullibardin, then very forward in the cause; and these, in their levying, had their rendezvous at Perth. Lykeas the Lord Kilpont brought from Monteith and other places in the west of Perthshire, 400 men; but so soon as Montrose descended towards his enemies, Kilpont delivered his men to him.

On Sunday, September 1, a battell being fought at Tippermoore, the Marques carried an absolute victory, notwithstanding the odds between their numbers; for the Covenanters being reckoned to 6000 foote and 600 horse, whereas the Marques foote exceeded not 3000, and of horses they had only three, whereof two were only for his own saddle, and the third for Sir William Rollock, who being somewhat lame, could not at all march well on foote.

By this victory, the Irish in speciall came to be provided abundantly both of clothes and armes, whereof they had great need both: And likewayes the Comittie of Estates came to be so startled, that it was resolved on to send up the Chancellor to London; for besides those whom the Kirk did commissionate to reside there for concurring with the Divines at Westminster, our Parliament also nominated severall to attend on the Parliament of England for carrying the confederation with them. And these nominated by our Parliament for that effect were, the Chancellor, Argile, Metellane, and Balmerino; Sir Archibald Jonson, Hugh Kennedy burges of Aire, and Mr Robert Barclay burges of Irwine.

The necessity of the Chancellor's, Argile, and Balmerino's being at home (to sit at the helme,) was such, that they went not up but at solemne occasions. The rest remained allways at London; whereof they had no reason to weary, in regard of the prodigious provisions allowed them from the publick for their maintenance: For in Scotts money for every day respective, viz. for ane Earle 48 lib. to each Lord 36 lib. to each Knight 30 lib. to each Minister 28 lib. and to every Burger 24 lib. The Chancellor's going at this time was said to be on this occasion: The King already was brought so low, that the Parliament of

England thought themselves able enough to prosecute the war without the aid of auxiliaries, and on that account began to undervalue the Scots, and wish to be rid of them. Now our Parliament considered, that if the English Parliament should hear the worst anent Montrose's victory, it would foment an unbrotherly humour in them: And therefore it was to good purpose that at that time the Chancellor should go up, and set a good face on it, and deall for the continuance of a good understanding betwixt the two Parliaments.

After this victory at Tippermoore, the town of Perth yeelded presently to Montrose, and there he stayed three days; and thereafter crossing the river Tay, he marched eastward to Angus, the Earl Airley, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvie, with some of his friends, and the Earl Kinnowl, with a few Gentlemen out of the Carse of Gowrie, being joyned with him; and from the north only Colonell Nathanaell Gordon.

The first place at which Montrose halted was Collas, where he was robbed of his honourable friend the Lord Killpont, by a traitorous assassination committed by James Stewart of Arvorlick, whom Killpont had chosen for his intimate friend. And albeit his father the Earl of Airth warned him many a time to shake him off; yet he could not but continue to be ruled by him in all his affaires: And even in his joyning with Montrose he had his allowance and direction. But afterward this Stewart repenting it, began to think of falling away. But being witty, he considered, he would not obtaine pardon from the other party, except he did some egregious and meritorious act to ingratiate himself, and procure it: Hereupon he proposed to himself the murdering of either Montrose or M'Donall. And because he could hardly accomplish such an atrocious act alone, therefore having slept all night beside my Lord Killpont, in the twilight of the morning, he inticed him forth from the midst of his army to refresh himself with a walk in the fields; and there he plainly told him his intention, for a well being to them both, entreating his secrecy and concurrence therein. But Killpont abhorring the most disgracefull and divillish motion, which the ruffian perceiving by his countenance, without more adoe stabbed the innocent and generous Nobleman ere he was aware; fearing he would discover it, and thereupon fled immediately, and went the straight way to the Marques Argile, who did esteem it an acceptable piece of service; that he not only countenanced him, and procured his pardon for joyning with the Marques of Montrose, but also preferred him to a place of high command in the army. But the Marques of Montrose having lifted the dead corps of his honourable friend in his armes, being deeply affected with his losse, gave order for conveying the same in honorable and mournfull manner to the Kirk of Menteth, where it was entered. Thereafter Montrose marching from Collas, and frighting the town of Dundee, continued his course through Angus and Mernes towards Aberdone shire, having greatest expectation of people's joyning in these northern parts.

The Comittie of Estates in the meantime, having put the Commission upon the Marques Argile, and the Earl of Lothian to march after him; Argile, with his Highlanders, came on September 9 to Sterlinshire, and on the morrow the Earl Lothian also, where in all haste they levyed the men of Sterlinshire: And also brought Lothian's regiment (which a long time before had come over from Ireland,) and with these he marched forward to the town of St. Jonstoun, where the men of Fife met them, and also two regiments called home from Newcastle, viz. Bargenie's and Sir Frederick Hamilton's: And being as strong as themselves desired, they began their march from St. Jonstoun to Aberdone, on the 14 day, where the first newes that occurred was concerning another victory which Montrose had gained on the 12, at Aberdone, in this manner: The Lord Burleigh being there for executing some commands put upon him by the Comittie of Estates, and he hearing Montrose to be in these parts, convocated the Forbesses and Frazers, (which were all furious in the cause,) with such of the name of Gordon as choosed to follow the Marques's son Lodowick Gordon, (who was there in person,) and they being also conveyed, brought the cittizens of Aberdone, and the Lord Elcho's regiment, which at that time quartered there for keeping the countrie in order. Montrose hearing of it, marched straight towards them; and after some dispute, obtained an absolute victory, although their numbers at that time were far unequal; for of their foote they were 2500 compleate, and of horses 500 full: whereas Montrose had of horses only 44, and of foote only 1600; the Atholians and Badenech's men not being returned, who had gone home with the spoile gained in the prior fight and victory; and the men which belonged to Killpont, all stollen away after his death.

After this fight, Montrose had the town rendered to him, where he shewed great clemency, both in pardoning the people and protecting their goods; and having refreshed his army two days, on the 15th he marched northward: Argile and the Earl of Lothian followed, yet with such slowness, that in all their progres through the North, they never came near to him: And when, upon October 4, he returned to Athole, they were eight days march behind him.

Whereupon Montrose having rested his army there, untill he had dispatched M'Donald with a party of 500 men towards the farre Highlands, for inviting the Lairds of M'Clean and the Captains of Clanronnald and others to joyne, and thereafter marched down to Dunkell, and from thence through Angus toward Brechen and Montrosse, where he stayed ten days refreshing himself and his army. And all this while it is to be wondered what was become of Argile and Lothian with their army: But at length, on October 14, they came to Athole, and descended towards the Stormont, and went east through Angus behind Montrose, who by that time was againe marched northward.

In this very time, the Comittie of Estates and Commission of the Generall Assembly were very angry that he was not yet vanquished, and exercised their wrath on such as they could reach; so by their order the Earl Hartfell, the Laird Amisfield, and severall others of the name of Maxwell, were taken captives, and imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh; and of Montrose's friends to bear them company, the Laird of Fentrie yonger, the Master of Maderty, the Laird of Braco, Orcliel, and Inchbrakie

elder. And in the Castle of Edinburgh were imprisoned Captain Melvill, Henry Graham, Montrose's naturall brother, and Andrew Graham his servant, who being apprehended in the north of England, were sent to the Comittie. As also Archibald Lord Naper his son, and George Sterline of Keir his son-in-law, all confined to the Lord Naper's house in Holiroodhouse, not to stir from thence every man, under the pain of 1000 lib. Sterling.

As also divers assassins were secretly employed, and large reward promised them for murdering Montrose and M'Donald, and for that end had permission given them to joyn in their army : But Providence still disappointed all their plotts.

The Commission of the Generall Assembly also excommunicated Colonel Nathaneel Gordon, and appointed a fast to be kept throughout the kingdom, and in their armies both at home and abroad, on the last Sabbath of October, and Wednesday thereafter for successe against Montrose, who then was become very dreadfull ; and before the time came, they were lifted with the newes they had of the surprisall of Newcastle, by storming it upon the 19th, but not without much blood : Sir James Lumsden was made Governour thereof, and James Sword, Burges of St. Andrews, Collector of the customes. In it they found out Lodowick Earl of Crauford, the Lords of Maxwell and Raes, Sir Thomas Ogilbie of Powry, and Dr William Wiseman, the Minister thereof, who were all sent in to Edinburgh : And at their arrivall, it was presently debated in the Comittie by some of the most violent Ministers, whether Crauford should be presently beheaded, or delayed for some dayes, that he might suffer in company with the rest ; and by plurality of votes the last carried it. And so they were altogether shut up in the Tolbooth. And shortly thereafter, the Lord Ogilby, who had a long time before been the Generall's prisoner, was also sent down, and by the Comittie's order was quartered in the Tolbooth among the rest. These emergents kept up their hearts, though otherwayes much perplexed with Montrose's success.

In the meantime, Argile and Lothian were following Montrose to the northward ; and albeit he might easily have outmarched them, yet to try if they minded to face him, he halted four days at Fyvie ; which they never understood till they were even hard by him. Whereupon followed some skirmishing ; but they declyned battell, the ground not affording them the advantage to constrain the persewers. But yet it was there that Argile and Lothian drew away the Earl of Kinnowle, Colonel Hay, Colonel Sibbald, and almost all the Lothian men that had joyned with him, excepting only the Earl of Airley and his sonnes, that never left him. Neither was the Marques very discontent therewith ; considering that very hardly they could have endured the winter stormes and toile : And for Colonel Nathaneel Gordon his off coming was with Montrose's own direction and speciall allowance, that he might have opportunity to deall with his young chief the Lord Gordon to goe and joyn with him, wherein he was both faithfull and successfull. But having lifted up from Fyvie, Montrose marched straightway to Frondraugh, from thence to Strabogie, and thereafter through the rest of the Highlands, till he came to Athol, where he was met by the Lairds of M'Leane and the Captain of Clanronnald and their men ; who were pleased to come alongs with M'Donald : And these men indeed made up a large recruite ; and Glengary had formerly joyned and persevered to the end.

Now in all his march from Fyvie to Athole, Argile and Lothian came never up to him ; and having at length often heard of the joyning of these Highlanders, they became weary of their employment ; and without more adoe went to Edinburgh, and rendered up their commissions to the Comittie of Estates, receiving from them act of approbation for their services : Which many said they deserved the better, because they had shed no blood.

The posture of affaires at this time wrought an exceeding great change upon people ; and many who before had been violent, began to behave and speake more moderately of the bussines. And that which was most taken notice of, was the lukewarmnes among many of the Ministers, who now in their sermons were begun to remit much of their former zeale. This galled the Commission of the Generall Assembly : And for a remedy, having the pretext of a quarrell against Mr George Haliburton, Minister at Perth, and Mr George Graham, Minister at Ochterarder, because on a pressing occasion they hapned to speak with Montrose at his being in the town of St Jonston ; for which, and without alleadging any other cause, they summarly deposed them both on November 27, whereby others might be warned to take better heed of their talking.

The Commission did also at that time conclude a national fast, to be observed on the first day of January next, being Sabbath ; and also further, upon advertisement from the Commissioners at London concerning the state of reformation, the Commission concluded the calling of a Generall Assembly to convene at Edinburgh, January 22 : And for that effect, dispatched letters to the severall Presbyteries to send Commissioners against that day. Also since Argile and Lothian had given up their commissions, the Comittie had been thinking on whom to pitch : And at last they had resolved upon Generall Major Baillie, and commisionate him to be their chief commander in that northern expedition, who appointed his first rendezvous at Perth, where the Lord Metellane's regiment quartered, and called thither Craufurd Lindsay's regiment from Dundee, and the remainder of my Lord Elcho's regiment from Aberdone, expecting more shortly to be sent him from Newcastle.

In the meantime, Montrose marched in a full body from Braidalbin, Glenurchie's countrŷ, which the Marques Argile understanding, he hasted away from Edinburgh towards his own countrie for levying of his Highlanders ; for fear that, from Braidalbin, Montrose should march thither. And so indeed it fell out that Glenurchie's country being wasted by him, he marched straight to Innerara, the Marques Argile's principall residence. On the knowledge whereof Argile was so affrighted, that long before Montrose's coming near he fled to his boate ; whereby himself escaping, he left his friends to shift for themselves : So that without any opposition he wasted his territories ; but yet shed no blood, in regard that all the people following the laudable exam-

ple of their master, delivered themselves by flight in like manner. And by this time Sir Jo. Hurrie, being returned home, was appointed Generall Major under Bailly, who had first fought on the Parliament's side against the King, and thereafter he turned over to the King against them. And now having abandoned both sides, came home, and embraced this very charge against Montrose. And many prophesied that ere all were done he would even change yet againe, and joyn himself to Montrose, which came at length to pass. But Bailly, and with him Craufurd Lindsay, knowing of Montrose's being in Argile, in the end of December, march west to Dumbartane, intending (as they professed,) for Argile to encounter Montrose there: And at Dumbartane they found the Marques himself, having in his flight from Innerara retreated thither for a shelter, who promised to shew them their way.

But having on the next day got intelligence that Montrose was removed from that countrie, and marched away towards Glen-cow and Lochaber, Bailly and the Earl of Craufurd parting from the Marques, brought back their army to Angus, resolving to march north toward Aberdane, and from thence towards Montrose, or where ever they could find him. And Argile knowing that the enemy was gone, retired home with pomp, and convened his friends and retinue from their lurking holes to follow on Montrose's reare: And to make his power the more formidable, called over from Ireland, Duncan Campbell of Auchinbrack, (a Colonell in the Scott's army there,) and divers other commanders of his name: The project thereof being, that when Montrose's army was in their march, Bailly's army should charge them in the front; and Argile and his regiments, (who till then were to march more slowly, and keep at a distance,) should come up and fall on his rear, whereby he should immediately be swallowed up.

But the Scottish Parliament, upon the second day of January 1645, met at Edinburgh, and by vertue thereof, the Marques of Montrose and the Earl of Airley were forfeited, (for now the King and his authority were utterly cast off,) and their estates seased upon; and thereafter they passed among all that faction by the names of James Graham, and James Ogilby: And it was accounted no small note of malignancy for any to designe them by their titles. The Parliament also ratified the act of the Convention of Estates concerning excise. But their progress in other affaires was the more slow, untill they should know the tendency of the controversie that was fallen out betwixt Mainchester, and Oliver Cromwell his Lieutenant Generall; whereby the army was in danger to divide: For now Cromwell had accused Mainchester before the House of Commons for betraying the army at Darington Castle, and other things: And Mainchester had accused him, before the House of Peeres, for plotting to have a parity in the state, and independency in the church. Many at first were of opinion that Mainchester would prevail; but yet the contrare fell out, and that upon this occasion. By this time the Independent faction, (whereunto Oliver Cromwell joyned preaching, prayer, and fasting, as much as any of them did,) was now become predominant in the House of Commons. And having their design, wherewith they thought Essex, Mainchester, and other prime Commanders, would not go alongs with, therefore they intended their cessation; and for that effect framed and carried an act, that during the Parliament, (Cromwell only excepted,) no member thereof should have any office, martiall or civill, whereby they might the better attend. And hereby are cashiered both Essex, Mainchester, and other prime Commanders, such as Stanford, Denbigh, and others: And the power of the sword only brought into the hands of the Commons. Whereupon followed the new modell, wherein Sir Thomas Fairfax was made Generall, and Cromwell Lieutenant Generall to him; for Cromwell not being eminent enough to command in chief, behoved, for the credite of the Parliament, to have one above him: And yet, that the power of command might reside in him, they pitched on one, who, they thought and presumed, would not obscure him.

The Generall Assembly sate down at Edinburgh, January 22; at which time, every one had in his hand that book lately set forth by Mr Samuel Rutherford, intituled, *Lex Rex*, which was stuffed full of positions, which in time of peace would be judged rank heresies and damnable treasons; yet now was so idolized, that whereas, in the beginning of the work, Buchanan's Treatise, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, which was judged an oracle, this being come forth, it was judged Anti-monarchicall, and not orthodox enough, and Rutherford's *Lex Rex* only judged authentick. To the Assembly there came Mr Baillie and Mr Gillespie from London, and, after a long discourse, presented a Directory for Worship, which having been framed by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was sent to be approven by this Assembly: Which being perused by a Comittie nominate for that effect, and a report made concerning their satisfaction therewith, it was ratified by our Assembly: Also the Commission of the last Generall Assembly being examined, was approven, and the Assembly's thanks given for their diligence and fidelity. As also a new Commission, consisting of the same members, established for the year to come: And thereafter the Assembly sent Dick, Blair, Cant, and some others, to present to the Parliament the Directory, and to desire their ratification thereof, which is heartily granted. Thus all went well with the cause; and there was great joy both in Assembly and Parliament.

But this joy was soon choaked, by an advertisement which they received of a third victory which Montrose had at Innerloghty, on February 12; whereof the manner and occasion was this:—While Montrose was on his march eastward towards Murray, he had notice from Allan M'Kildow of Lochaber, that Argile, with all his power, was following on his reare: And knowing that both Bailly and Hurry were before him, he considered that, if he suffered himself to be charged both in front and reare, he might run a risk: And therefore, instead of marching forward, he turned about to speak with Argile, the country people favouring him. But Argile heard not any thing concerning his returns, untill the second day of his march at even he was come the full length, and pitched close by Argile's camp, and the very next morning began the fight. But ere then the Marques Argile had provided for his own safety, by taking his boat, and with him, to bear him company, the Laird of Nidrie and Sir James

Rollock of Duncrobb, Archibald Sydeserf, Baillie of Edinburgh, and Mr Mongo Law, Minister there, whom he had called to the place to see the great wonders he had intended to do and to have achieved in that expedition. But from his boate he saw the day lost, and the most part of his friends cut in pieces. The number of the slain on his side, being reckoned by some to be above fifteen hundred. But Colonell John Cockburn and Colonell John Rough, with some few others, retired to the castle of Innerlochty, and kept it till they had procured fair quarters for their lives and liberties; which was granted them upon oath never to carry arms against the King and the Marques Montrose; for observation whereof, they were dispensed with never to go to the fields. And instead thereof, Colonell Cockburn was made governor of the castle of Sterline, and Colonell Rough of the town of Perth. But the Earl of Calender did not take it well, that his owne regiment, being in the castle of Sterline, that they should be set above his Lievtennent; but it being the Parliament's pleasure so to doe, he must acquiesce to it. On Montrose's side, (except Sir Thomas Ogilvie, son to the Earl of Airly,) there was none killed but thrie common souldiers; whereof the reason was said to be, that the Argilians having lost heart by their Master's withdrawing, never stood to it, but fled at the first charge, and were all killed in their flight.

This discomfiture at Innerlochty caused great sadness, both in Parliament and Assembly; yet was much better digested because of Argile's personal safety, who on February 11, arrived at Edinburgh, and went straight to the Parliament, having his left arm tyed in a scarf, as if he had been at bones breaking. There he made an account of that unfortunate expedition, whereof himself was the genuine author, (as we said;) and on the morrow, the Lord Balmerino did, in the Generall Assembly, make a discourse in reference thereto: Wherein he affirmed, that the report which past of so great a loss sustained at that fight were but the inventions of malignants, who spake as they would have it, and not truly as it was; and upon his honour affirmed, that there were only killed to the Marques Argile but thirty persons. But the contrary of that was too well known; and many thought it very strange that a Nobleman should speak so in publick: Yet credulous and deluded people believed, and on that account began to be joviall againe.

But shortly thereafter there came newes from England, which contributed more to their joyes; and that was, that the treaty at Uxbridge betwixt King and Parliament, which began January 30, was blown up, and all hope of accommodation gone. Whereupon his Majestie did much blame the Scotts Commissioners at London, and was in that matter believed; because their greatest intimacy was with that party in the Parliament which crushed it.

In the meantime, the Generall Assembly sent in Mr David Dick, Blair, Cant, and Mr Patrick Gillespie, to press the execution of the Earl of Craufurd, Lord Ogilvy, and others, prisoners in the Tolbooth; and this the Parliament concluded as an act of great zeall and piety in the Assembly, yet wisely deferred the performance thereof for a while, untill Montrose should be brought somewhat lower; lest otherwayes unfortunately some of their friends might hapen to fall into their hands, and that they might repay it. After this address to the Parliament, the Assembly resolved to shew an act of clemency of themselves in reponing Mr George Haliburton to his Ministrie at the Perth, and Mr John Graham, Minister at Ochterarder; which came to pass in this manner: Dame Margaret Haliburton, Lady Cowper, came over, and with great oathes avowed to my Lord Balmerino, that unless he caused repon her cousen to his Ministrie, he should never find the savour of the Lordship of Cowper. This comination set Balmerino on work to do for Mr Haliburton; and as for Mr Graham, Minister at Ochterarder, the Earl Lanerk pressed the like on his behalf, being moved thereto because his wife was a Hamilton, descended of that Archbishop of St Andrews that suffered at Sterline. Lanerk and Balmerino being sollicitors for them, the Assembly yeilded to their reposition; but yet upon two provisoes, which these Noblemen consented to. 1. That they should make their repentance on their knees before their respective Presbyteries, and over againe before their Synodicall Assemblies, and a testimony thereof brought to the Generall Assembly's Commission, that the Commission should restore him: All which was performed. The next of the provisoes, that, lest the indulgence extended to them should encourage others to malignancy, an act should presently be made in the Assembly, that hereafter none who hapned to be deposed, should be for ever restored to those Churches, at which they had served formerly: And this act was voted and concluded. So the Generall Assembly arose on February 13, having first appointed the meeting of the Generall Assembly to be at Edinburgh the first Wednesday of June 1646.

But after this fight at Innerlochty, Montrose having refreshed his army with some days rest, marched eastward toward Murrayland, and at Elgin he kept his Comittie peaceably; and to him were joyned, the Lord Gordon and his friends, the Laird of Grant, and other confederates in the Highlands; at the hearing whereof, the Parliament was much affected with sadness: And many thought, that the grief thereof caused the Earl of Lauderdale's speedy departure from this life, who was interred the third day of March; and in his place, the Earl of Craufurd Lindsay was made President of the Parliament, (such was the power of the Hamiltons at that time;) that thereafter all men might be at leisure for suppressing the Rogues (as they called them.) the Parliament hasted towards a close.

Thrie Comitties were nominated: One to repaire to the army in England, whereof Argile was the principall; another to sit at the helme in England, and Balmerino was chief in it; and the third to go, along with Bailly, against Montrose. This consisted of Craufurd Lindsay, Lanerk, and some of their clients. And thereafter, on the 8th of March, the Parliament adjourned till July 2. But Montrose being much strengthened by this new accession, marched southward againe toward Aberdhone, and from thence through the Mernes: Whereupon Bailly, with his Comittie, broke up his army to meet him the length of Inglishmady, and there for two dayes, the 29 and 30, the armies were in view of other: So that Montrose prepared for battell, but

Bailly and his Comittie declined it, whereupon he retired westward to the river of Tay: And Bailly and his Comittie came to be blamed for letting Montrose afterward have so faire an opportunity to escape, albeit it was so resolved by his Comittie's advice.

And shortly thereafter he suffered a greater defame, for permitting Montrose make so hand som a retreat from his desperate attempt at Dundee; yet in this he had Hurry to bear a part of the blame and censure; and the very truth was, they were more affrayed to engage than the other. Which being observed, the Comittie thought on a way how they might be made stronger; and for that end sent a message to Ireland for 1000 commanded men to joyn with them. These came over speedily, having Lievteneent Colonell Hume for their commander, (who with his regiment had indeed done good service in Ireland;) and that they might also bring Montrose into an hose net, resolved to divide their army in two: One to go northward under Sir Jo. Hurry's command; and the rest under Bailly's command to stay in Angus, in the low fields, to hold in a turn. Hurry marched away presently to Aberdone, with one regiment of horses and two of foote, viz. the Chancellor's and Craufurd Lindsay's: And at Aberdone there came to him from Sudderland and Lawiers regiment from Innesse: So Bailly's army was reckoned 3000 men of foote and 500 horses, and were quartered at Killimore.

In the meantime, Montrose having dispatched M'Donall to the Highlands to make levies, and Inchbrakie the Colonell to the Atholians to bring them out, whereof the most part after Innerlochty fight had got a forloff, untill they should be called for, he himself with his army marched westward to Menteech, there to receive the Lord Boyne, of whose dyet he had knowledge by a letter; and he having but sixteen horses in traine, did (notwithstanding of all the garrisons) come from Carlile without molestation to the foord of Cardross, where Montrose and he met to their mutuall joy. Moreover, Bailly followed westward; therefore M'Donall knowing that Montrose was not strong enough for a battell without his assistance, Inchbrakie with his regiment resolved to make a division, and fall down on the Campbells ere they were aware, on the Lordship of Cowper, killing such of them as came into his hands: Whereof the advertiment being sent to Bailly, he and his Comittie drew back his army to try his fortune with M'Donall; and so Montrose had a cleare passage to the north, accompanied with another stronger (besides the Lord Boyne,) his own nephew Archibald Master of Naper, a gallant youth both for body and minde. And he having been ever since Montrose's going to the field in company with his noble father the Lord Naper, and Sir George Sterline his brother-in-law, and others, all under confinement in Halliroodhouse, resolved at length to break loose to go to his uncle, whom he met also at Cardross, on Moonday Aprile 22. But his breach procured from the cruell Comittie a hard measure to his friends, whom he left behind him; for the Lord Naper his father, and the Laird of Keir, were presently made prisoners in the Castle of Edinburgh; and not long after Dame Elizabeth Ereskin, daughter to the Earl of Mar, his lady, and Mrs Elizabeth Naper his sister, were sent after them to bear them company, and also his other sister, Lady to Merchiston.

At that time also there fell out an occurrence very prejudiciall to the King's affaires: and this was the catching of a messenger who was passing between him and Montrose (his name was James Small, son to the Laird of Fotherance,) which by the decay of that family, belongs to Sir James Haliburton, one of the Senators of the College of Justice. This gentleman having served a long time in the Court of England, undertook to his Majestie to hazard himself in carrying a packet of letters to Montrose. And for effecting whereof, he put on a beggar's habite, and so he went safely through the Highlands of Scotland, where he found Montrose for the time; but in his returne was not attended with the like good fortune; for having passed the river of Forth at Alloway, where he needed not to feare bodily harm (the noble family of Mar being most loyall,) he was at Elphinston (by the officiousness of a fellow who had known him at Court) discovered and catched, and his letters, which he had taken from him, and himself with him, the very next day sent over to the Comittie of Estates at Edinburgh by my Lord Elphinstone, where by the command of the Comittie he was without delay hanged at the cross of Edinburgh on May 15.

By these letters the Comittie came to know that which they had never thought upon, how the King's bussines being so forlorne in England, as he could not make head against his enemies there, his Majestie meant to come with his army to Scotland to joyn with Montrose, that so this region being made the seat of the war, his enemies might be compelled to an accommodation for getting the land freed from the burden it was not able to stand under; the prevention whereof was afterward gone about with successe. But Montrose having in the meantime, after his parting from Cardrosse, leavyed the Atholians, (as he had passed through their territories,) went north to seek an encounter with Generall Major Hurry. And as soon as Bailly and his Comittie knew that Montrose, and with him the Atholians, were gone, they resolved to goe up to Athole and burn the countrie; which having valiantly performed while there was none left there to oppose them or make resistance, they resolved to returne to Angus, and march northward to Aberdone.

But before this was concluded, they heard the certainty of another victory obtained by Montrose against Hurry at Olderne on May 4; Hurry's strength consisting of five regiments of foote (besides horses,) viz. Lothian's and Lowdon's regiments, both which he took to the north with them, Lawer's regiment (which came from Innesse to him,) a regiment which came from Sudderland, and another of the Earl of Seafort's men.

This victory, as it was absolute and bloody, so it was the more admirable that neither Grant's men nor the M'Cleane's men were there, (being on other employments,) and but few of the Atholians also, most of them being gone home after they heard of the burning of their country. So also this victory was very sad, both to the Comittie of Estates and the Commission of the Generall Assembly at Edinburgh; whereupon they met to advise upon what means people might be kept in a dependence on

them, and from falling away, because of the enemies prevailing: And seeing the pulpits had great influence on the resolutions of the multitude, therefore the Commission emitted a warning to the Ministers, wherein they charged them to stand fixed, and by their doctrine that they should endeavour to render their congregations so in like manner, under the pain of deposition: And that their combination might not be vilipended, in the meantime they were deposing some of them to affright the rest: Such as Mr John Robertson, Minister at Perth; Mr William Barclay, Minister at Falkland; and the Minister at Foulles; and Mr John Row, Minister at Monthill.

But while these meetings at Edinburgh were troubled with the late victory of Montrose against them, they had a cordiall from England, which was the newes they had of the King's fatal overthrow at Naesbie; which was occasioned by the great disadvantage they had by the discovery of these letters, (for which James Small suffered at Edinburgh,) which came soon to be generally understood; for while the King was on his intended expedition for Scotland, some false-hearted men about him, (whom he too much trusted,) prevailed with home to breake off that designe, and turn south toward Northamptonshire, where (as they averred) four counties had associated themselves together, and were in a readiness to joyne. But when he came there, (instead of the associate counties,) he found Fairfax and Cromwell, with their new-modelled army, waiting on him, who compelled him to fight a bloody battell, and so prevailed over him on June 4th, as quite ruined him.

The certaintie hereof being brought to our Committee, they gave order for bone-fires and all other signs of joy and rejoicing throughout the land; and all these who joyned not were taken notice of as enemies to the publick: yet shortly thereafter, they met with a new cause of grief and sadness, and that was by another victory gained by Montrose over Bailly at Alford on July 2d: For Hurry being discomfited, Bailly, by the advice of his Committee, marched norward to repay it, but had no better success than the other: for albeit their numbers were very unequal; yet Montrose's victory over them was both absolute and bloody: for whereas on his side very few did fall, (except the Lord Gordon,) with whose death Montrose was very much and sadly affected, whom he caused be buried very honorably at Aberdome.

By this time also the pestilence, which from Newcastle was brought to Kelso, and from thence transmitted to Edinburgh; where it so raged, that when the dyet (to which the Parliament had been adjourned) came, they were constrained to sit down at Sterline castle July 2d. And some days thereafter, Bailly himself, (and with him the Lord Belcarras,) who by timorous flight escaped from the slaughter,) arived both at Sterline, and went into the Parliament. Belcarras was welcome to them: But for Bailly, they were so ill satisfied with him, that there was much difficulty to get him an act of approbation for his service.

The Parliament sate at Sterline till the 12th day, at which time the pestilence breaking in to that corporation also, they behoved to think on a removeall, and so adjourned themselves till the 24th day of the same month, to sit down at Perth; having first ordered a great levy to be gone about presently for the suppressing of their enemies; viz. all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Heritors whatsoever, to be at Perth personally and well mounted before the said day, with their tenants and vassals, for making up of a foote army of 10,000, to be brought from besouth Tay, according to the proportions presently cast thereanent. Moreover, Montrose hearing of the muster at Perth, came south against the said day; wherein they met, and pitched at Meethwen wood, attempting nothing at all till after some few dayes halting on the south side of Erne, they learned that the Gordons (of whom consisted Montrose's chief strength of horses,) were not there, and thereupon they advanced towards him; but all to no purpose, for at that time Montrose not being minded to a fight, retired at his leisure without either loss or affront, toward Dunkeld, to attend the Gordons, and others whom he was expecting to come up; and as for these whom they had newly levied by the Parliament, both horse and foote retired home, and very few remained with the commanders, Argile, and Craufurd, and Lanerk, who after the Parliament's sitting were all joyned except the old regiments.

By this time the Gordons and other recruits being come up to Montrose, whereby he was at his greatest strength, he returned towards his enemies, and laboured to draw them to fight. But they declyned it, and pitched themselves at Kilgirstone, professing that as soone as the Fifemen, whom they had called, should come up to them, they would then take order with him and his adherents; which as soon as Montrose heard, he marched southward to the Kirk of Dron, to attend the Fifemen's coming. But after severall days attendance in vaine, finding no appearance of them, and that on the other part the enemy kept himself within a trench and could not be constrained to engage, he marched away; first to Kinross, and then westward to Sterline, wherein by the way M'Clean and his people raised fire, and burned the parishes of Murchart and Dolour, belonging to Argile, in requitall of the like by him done formerly in M'Clean's country, as they alleadged.

The day whereon Montrose marched from Kinross towards the west, he quartered his army at night in the wood of Tullibody, beside Alloway; where, albeit his Highlanders did most barbarously plunder the town; yet the Earl of Mar and the Lord Erskin, and their noble ladies, dispensing therewith, were silent; and moreover, on the morrow morning, invited him and his principall commanders to dine with them. So he ordained M'Donald to goe westward with the foot army, and himself to bring his horse alongs with him for a guard; and himself, and the Earl of Airley, and many others, were honourably feasted in the castle of Alloway. After which, he being advertised of the enemies advancing, they made the more haste to overtake the foote: And being met, and considered the town of Sterline was depopulated by the pestilence, they resolved to pass by it, and so they passed both Teth and Forth two miles to the northward, and from thence they marched on towards Kilsyth, where they found the ground so advantageous and convenient to them, as it made them to halt there till the enemies should come up that length, which shortly did. For as soon as Montrose had marched westward from Kinross, thrie regiments of Fifemen, accounted to be very near 3000,

commanded by the Lairds of Camno, Ferne, and Fordell, Henderson joyned to the Covenanter's army; as also a regiment of Argile's Highlanders, reckoned to be fully 1200 men: And being thus strengthened, it was for all that ordered, that Lanerk also should ride to the west country, and with the concurrence of Glencairne and Eglinton, there to levy another army against Montrose: And this present army, commanded by Argile, Craufurd, and Bailly, to fall on him in his reare, that so the one being before him and the other behind him, he might at length be brought into an hose net, and so swallowed up. For which end, Lanerk went away presently, and Argile, with Craufurd and Bailly, went with all expedition to the westward, in the very vestigy and tract which Montrose had traced: And as they advanced toward Sterline, the Marques of Argile caused burn the house of Menstrie, belonging to the Earl of Sterline, (then the King's Secretary,) for hatred he had against his King, and the house of Aithrie, belonging to Sir John Graham of Braco. And withall sent advertisment to the Earl of Mar, that after their returne from following theemie, he might expect the same measure as to his house of Alloway, for the good entertainment and hospitality which Montrose found in it. But Providence ordered it otherwayes: for of all these which he led west very few returned back with tidings. And it seemed that the Fife men expected nothing better to come of it; for as they came the length of Sterline, they resolved obstinately not to march further; alleading that when they were levied, it had been promised them, that they should not be urged to march without the precincts and limits of their own shire: And therefore as of their own good will they were come much farther, they would on no account cross Forth. But the leaders set the Ministers on work to deal with them, who told them jolly tales of Eglinton, and Glencarne, and Lanerk's lifting the powers of the west country to joyn with them, and therefore only intreated them for that day they should march on, untill the Westlanders should approach, and then they should be dismissed: Whereto these bewitched people consented, and so went the length of Kilsyth, whence few returned: For on August 15, followed that dismall battell of Kilsyth, where Montrose carried an absolute victory. The foote being reckoned to 7000, all wholly cut off, excepting very few that escaped by straigling here and there all wounded, whereof the most part died afterward; yet without the losse of any on Montrose's side, except 16 persons, whereof thrie were gentlemen of the name of Ogilby, and the rest common sojors. The reason whereof was because the Covenanters never stood to endure a charge, which was given most valiantly by the Earl of Airly and his friends: And the opposites fled all on a sudden, their horse over-ryding the foote; among the which the Nobility presently went off, and among them all the Marques of Argile, who never looked back over his shoulder untill after twenty miles ryding he reached the south Queensferry, and there provided himself of a boat, (his old stratagem,) which was over again the third time.

But when Lanerk, Glencarne, and the rest, (who in the meantime were about their leavy,) heard of this deplorable discomfiture of their friends, which they had received at Kilsyth, then they and the Nobles that had fled from that slaughter, made it their first care to provide themselves of a shelter: And so Glencarne and Cassills went over to Ireland, and the Chancellor, with Argile, to Berwick, and with them the Earl Craufurd Lindsay, Lanerk, and others. But after this fight, Montrose stayed two dayes on the place to refresh himself and his army: And by that time came from the city of Glasgow two, Mr Robert Dowglas, and Mr Archibald Fleeming, to congratulate his victory, and to invite him to honour their city with a visite. Whereupon the next day he marched thither with his army, and was received with very much solemnity, and humble acknowledgment of their former disloyalty, for which they begged his mercy: And from thence they removed to Bothwell Kirk, and the shire of Lithgow sent also Commissioners to him for that same end; and which was more, so did the shire of Renfrew, and others of the west: Bishopton, Greenock, and Douchall yonger, were their Commissioners, who acknowledged rebellion as fast as any, laying all the blame on the Ministers; and so also did the Burgers of Air and Irwine. But Montrose, albeit he knew the most of them to be men of most deceitfull hearts, yet he pardoned them all upon their solemn oaths and promises of exemplary loyalty thereafter; to which they solemnly engaged, and so were dimitted. Thereafter he sent M'Donald with a party to the west, for terrifying them that had not come in to declare their submission; and to him all did homage. And no where found he so hearty welcome as at the castle of Lowdon, where the Chancellor's Lady received him in her armes; and having intertained him very sumptuously, sent her servant John Haddon to present her service to the Marques of Montrose, the King's Generall.

But then his next care was for the prisoners in the Castle of Edinburgh, and in the Tolbooth, who had been appointed to death, viz. Lodowick Earl of Craufurd, the Lords Ogilbie and Rae, the Lairds of Drum and Powrie, Ogilbie and Dr Wisheart, (but before this time Robert Irwing, the Laird of Drum's brother, died in prison;) and so for their sakes he dispatched his nephew, the Master of Naper, and with him Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, to receive the city of Edinburgh into protection, and for bringing the prisoners from it, which he accomplished. As also at Lithgow, finding two prisoners more, viz. Archibald Lord Naper, and Sir George Sterline of Keir his son-in-law; who, because the pestilence had infected the castle, had obtained so much favour as to be brought out and transported to Lithgow prison, and brought them alongs with the rest; all which were a most wellcome and comfortable sight to Montrose.

At the same time, also divers of the Nobility, viz. the Marques of Dowglas, and the Earl of Annandail, and Hartfell; the Lords Erskin, Seaton, Drummond, Fleeming, Maderton; and divers Knights and Gentlemen, among whom was Sir John Hamilton, Justice Clerk, and Sir Archibald Primrose, Clerk to the Comittie of Estates, whom he made all welcome, (fancying by their meanes to draw over the Earl of Lanerk to his side;) Although Archibald Lord Naper warned him to beware lest, instead thereof, they should make a division in his army, and debauch these whom he had allready; it being their conjecture that Lanerk had sent them thither for that end.

The next dispatch which Montrose made was to the Marquis of Dowglas in the south; and with him the Lord Ogilbie, for levying the horses in Annandail and Drumfries, to joyn in the King's service. And at this time arrived from the King, Sir Robert Spotswood, who having been formerly President of the Session, was now (after Lanerk's defection,) made Secretary of State: And he delivered to Montrose his Majestic's Commission to be his Majestic's Captain Generall and Deputy Governour of Scotland, with ample power to summond Paziments, make Knights, &c.

Whereupon he knighted Alexander M'Donald, and thereafter appointed a Parliament to sit at Glasgow on October 20, which he caused to be proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh, Lithgow, Drumfries, Glasgow, &c. But in the meantime, his adversaries, who had fled to Berwick, were not idle: for that the Scotts army (being at the siege of Hereford in Wales, under the command of David Leslie,) him, with the Scottish Cavalkies totall strength, they solicited to come home. Who also wrote back, that he should make all the haste he could possibly, and that he would come so invincibly strong, as that he made no question but that he could overpower Montrose, if he found him in the Low Countries, or in the plains. But otherways, if he should retire to the Highlands, he would be forced to leave the business unaccomplished and retire, in regard the countrie could not sustaine the body of his cavalkie. Whereupon they wrote to the Earl of Tullibardin, (in whom they had great confidence,) to asserable all their friends, both high and low, to ly betwixt him and the mountains. But they found instruments near to them, who contributed more to the furtherance of their designs, (whether intentionally or by accident I shall not determine,) and these were the Earl of Roxburgh and the Earl of Hume, who sent messengers to Montrose to congratulate his success, and shew how earnestlie they desired to come, like to themselves, to him, and joya with him; but when they intended levies, they found their friends and followers obstinate, and unwilling to engage untill Montrose himself should come upon the place. Which if he should think fit to doe, they would undertake for the whole countrie to joyn. To which he then answered, that he should send orders to the Marquis Dowglas and the Lord Ogilby to come towards them with their forces, for furthering their levies. But they left it not so: But by new messages again they sent to him, (and all to draw him into their trap,) shewing that nothing but his own presence would satisfie that countrie; and therefore intreating him, by the most persuasive arguments they could use, to come himself in person; which he at last condescending to doe, although many about him disallowed him, and divers emergents fell out which might have deterred him from it.

As in the first, the Atholians and M'Cleanes behoved to go home to repaire their buildings, which had been burned, from which nothing might restrain them. Next, Sir Alexander M'Donald must needs go to Argile, to revenge the atrocious cruelties done to his father and friends: and he carried away with him, (beside a strong party of the Irish to be his lifeguard,) about 500 of the Scotts Highlanders, whom he had gained, to desert the publick and to follow him. But when to no purpose Montrose had most seriously dealk with him, to have stayed with him untill they should be absolute conquerors, promising to go thrither himself and concur in punishing them as they deserved; and withall told him, that his separating from him at such a time (as it proved,) might occasion the ruine to them both. Yet nothing prevailed: he must needs be gone, and enlarged himself in reckoning up to the Marquis his reasons, by Argile's cruelties upon his father and friends, who, (as he said, and that most truly,) Argile four years ago caused draw to Innerara, and with his father and brothers upon trust, and then made them prisoners. And thereafter these having retired to the yles of Jura and Ruchly for shelter, he caused Auchinless and Captain Stinlar to the said yles to murder them, which (said he, and that most truly) they did without mercy; sparing neither mother nor children, sex nor age; and so with these weighty reasons he justified his departure, and would by no meanes be hindered.

And next when Montrose had begun his march on September 4, the Lord Beyn deserted him, and carried away with him not only his friends of the name of Gordon, (all except Colonel Nathaniell,) but also the most of the northern horses. This inevitable falling away made Montrose at length to see his error in keeping so open a camp at the Kirk of Bothwell, where men came to be admitted that had debauched his army. Yet went he forward; and now having only with him some Noblemen, and about 200 Gentlemen that had joyned to him at Bothwell, together with 700 Irish foot, (most part of them,) quartered at Cranston Kirk, on Saturday September 6: These he got a sure intelligence, how David Lesly (being come already the length of Berwick with an irresistible power of horses,) was approaching; as also a friend of his at home (having fallen on a coppie of David Lesly's letter, from Hereford to the Lords at Berwick, and of theirs in answer thereto to the Earl of Tullibardin,) had sent them the next morning to the Lord Erskin, who acquainted Montrose with the same, and told him from whom he had them. And Montrose did truly acknowledge their worth and fidelity that sent them; but withall he said, his fervency in the cause made him more terrified than he needed. And he was so far from taking any warning to retire, that, (there being a fatality in the business,) he marched on toward the south sooner than he had intended; for whereas at his coming hither, he minded to have rested the Sabbath day, and to have heard Dr Wisbeard preach in that kirk, now he altered his resolution, and having discharged the sermon, he presently marched on towards Strathgale. And being there, the Marquis Dowglas came to him and the Lord Ogilbie with their new levied troup, as on the morrow he was saluted by the Earl of Traquaire, who having, with many oaths, asserted his fidelity, did frankly undertake to advertise him anent David Lesly's motions. And for a testimony of his honest meaning, (Oh, the deceitfulness of man's heart!) sent his son the Lord Linton the next day with a troupe of horse to attend him. Thereupon Montrose marched forward to Kelso, expecting there to have found the Earls of Roxburgh and Hume; but by a party of David Lesly's horse there, they were both carried prisoners to Berwick, whereof being informed (and that the party had been called by Roxburgh himself,) he saw then their treachery and perfidiousness; and marching forward, he

same to Selkirk September 12, and purposed the next day to have turned his face toward the north, and never ceased marching untill he had reached the mountaine. But therein he was prevented; for on the morrow morning, (the day being so dark by reason of foggie mists that his scouts could make no discovery,) David Lesly and his troup were on the place ere ever they were aware. Yet the surprisall was generally attributed to an advertismment which the Earl of Traquair had sent them concerning Montrose's nearness: For it was well known that after David Lesly knew that Montrose was in the south country, that he was marching forward toward Lothian, till he was informed by Traquair in what place he was: And that in a Council of war on Gladsmoore, concluded to advance westward to the very foote of the Grampian hills, to have attended to his return; yet having got that private advertismment, contraire to that resolution, he presently turned towards the south, and went directly towards him, whereof his consorts did admire. Now that the Earl Traquair had sent him the advertismment, it was esteemed the more probable: Because at midnight before the fight, he privately called away his son with his troup without giving any notice to Montrose. Whereupon on Saturday, September 13, David Lesly falling hastily on, and the Marques Dowglasse's prickers, at first began their flight, (being a truthless train band, and near to their own dwellings,) the northern men stood most resolutely to it, untill they were all well near inclosed, and then Montrose with his horse (perforce and sore against his inclination,) was forced to fall off and retire; so that before the night the most part of them were rejoyned, and he was reckoned to be 150 horses in traine. Only some were missing, who having taken the wrong way, and straying in the severall paths, were taken by the country people, and delivered to the victors: viz. the Earl Hartfell, and the Lords Ogilby and Drumond, Sir Robert Spotswood, Sir Alexander Lesly of Anchin-towell, Sir William Rollock, Sir William Nisbet, William Murray brother to the Earl Tullibardin, Innerwhartry, Colonell Nathaneel Gordon, and others.

But the footemen of Montrose's army, as soon as their horse was gone, most valiantly fighting, began by force to wenne to themselves a little fold, which having gained, they maintained it, untill Stewart the adjutant, being among them, procured from David Lesly quarters to them. Whereupon they rendered their armes, and came forth to a plaine field, as they were directed. But then the Churchmen quarrelled the Nobility, that quarters had been given to such wretches as they were, and declared it to be an act of most sinfull impiety to spare them. Whereupon divers of the Nobility complying with the Clergy, found out a distinction to bring David Lesly fairly off; and this it was, that quarters were only intended to Stewart the adjutant himself, but not to his company; and afterward having delivered the adjutant to be prisoner to Middleton, the army (contrary to many of their own inclinations,) were commanded to fall upon the rest, and presently cut them all in pieces, being disarmed.

The principall men who had got off with Montrose, were the Marques Dowglas, Lodowick Earl Craufurd, the Lords Erskin, Fleeming, and Naper, who still as they advanced overtook the rest of the horse who had fled more timely. Those who were taken by the country people, and delivered to the victors, were sent to severall prisons; but most of them to the castle of Edinburgh, some to the castle of Sterline, and some to other places; there to be kept till they should resolve the time and place of their execution. Only two Irish commanders, who hapening to be taken, were presently dispatched, which were Colonell Ochaan and Major Laughlane, two of whom their Generall Montrose had great esteem; who being brought up to Edinburgh, were without a delay hanged in the Castlehill.

There were also many common sojors, and women and boyes, who, by help of the mist, had broke up the braes and hilles, and escaping the victors hands, were most barbarously butchered up in many places by the savage fury of the countrie people; but especially at the bridge of Lithgow, where upwards of 300 men, women, and boyes, were thrown over and drowned as they were seeking homeward to the Highlands; and severall of them hanged in other townes, and beaten to death and knocked down, and many were left in the fields unburied. And the reason of that cruelty was indeed, that the Irish and Highland women, after Montrose's victory at Kilsyth, had, contrary to Montrose's order or knowledge, stabbed all that are wounded and lying in the field, and killed them out of hand.

But yet Montrose and his company passed throw Straitherne to Athole, where he presently was recruited with 400 foote, and having appointed the rest to be in readiness against his returne, with these, and the horse he brought with him from the field, he marched to Mar, (and there the Lord Erskin had made his people to joyn,) and thereafter to the Marques Huntlie's bounds, where he found no ready compliance: For the Marques having left Straithnavar, where formerly he had lurked, and now being returned home, did his utmost to spoil the business in Montrose's hands, which some ascribed to an envy he had at Montrose's glory, and others to some influence the Earl Lanerk had upon him, being his kinsman.

But being disappointed of the assistance he expected from Huntly, his care was the greater to have M'Donald joyned againe to him. Therefore he sent into the country of Argile his Generall Adjutant, to use all persuasions he could for his returne: but all in vaine; for he could on no termes be moved any more to concurre with Montrose in the service; and so they never met againe. But after this victory, David Lesly brought his victorious army forward to Lothian, and coming to Edinburgh, and guarding the Comittie of Estates and Commission of the Generall Assembly from thence to Glasgow, where they sate some dayes advising what course was further to be taken against Montrose. But withall concluded to give to David Lesly, in token of their gratitude, 50,000 merks Scotts, with a chain of gold; and to Middleton, for his good service, 25,000 merks. Thereafter, they resolved to lead their army into Angus, (where the Cause of Gowry being pretty well exhausted,) they ordained their hove quarter to be at Forfair; and the army remaining there, both the Comittie of Estates and the Church Commission sate at Perth. But the Commission, by the late victory, being puffed up, became more violent than formerly; and the first thing taken into consideration

was, that such of the Ministers as had not mourned for Montrose's victory at Kilsyth shall be censured. Whereupon they condescended to examine every man's deportment, whom they suspected to be disaffected to their way: And being spurred on by a number of sycophants among them, (who well knew that cruelty then was the best way to gain respect,) had information given them against many learned and holy men; who in that hour of darkness, (as they called it,) had bewrayed their dissatisfaction, which, without any further inquirie, they judged a very relevant ground for processing them, in order to deposition.

The next thing gone about was the deposition of men's heads; wherefore they sent Mr William Bennet, (Vice Moderator in Mr Robert Dowglas's absence,) and with him other two, to presse the Committee of Estates for the execution of the prisoners; who at their return made their report to this sense: That having proponed the Commission's desire, divers of the Committee, and these of the most eminent, slighted the same; and so they were like to obtaine nothing, were it not the Earl of Tullibardin very seasonably rose up and spoke to this purpose: That because he had a brother among these men, it might be their Lordships valued so his concurrence with them in the good cause, that for respect to him they were the more loathe to resolve the question: For himself, since the unfortunate young man had joynd himself to that wicked and execrable crew, he did not esteem him his brother, and therefore he declared he would take it for no favour if on that occasion it were granted. This, (said Mr Bennet,) made these of the Committee, who formerly disrellished the motion, to hang down their heads. And so it came to be concluded, that ten of them should be presently put to death, viz. the Earl Hartfell, the Lord Ogilbie, Sir Robert Spottswood, Secretary, William Murray brother to Tullibardin, Alexander Ogilbie of Innerwharthy, Sir William Rollock, Sir William Nisbet, Colonel Nathanael Gordon, Stewart the Adjutant, and Mr Andrew Guthrie son to the Bishop of Murray. But whether or no the Earl of Tullibardin spake so in the Committee or not, I leave undetermined; but that Mr Bennet reported it of him in the Commission, and that these other two, who were with him, and gave their consent to it, I may confidently averre it, being an ear witness to it.

Thereafter the Committee of Estates and the Commission of the Church adjourned till October 3d; and their meeting on that day to be at Duns, in the Mers, for sending to Berwick some of their number, and there to meet with the Commissioners sent from the Parliament of England.

After which shortly, the Committee of Estates, and the Commission of the Church, both convened at St Andrews, to receive the account from those who went to Berwick; whereof the summ was, That the English Parliament would needs be freed of the army of the Scots, and withall to have the townes of Newcastle and Carlisle delivered to them, whereanent they behoved to give a cleare and positive answer at the down sitting of the Parliament at St Andrews, on November 26.

In this meantime they had advertismment from the north, how Montrose, having got up a considerable army, intended south for Glasgow, where before his discomfiture he had proclaimed his Parliament to sit October 20th. And therefore both the Committee of Estates and Commission of the Church resolved to go thither at that time: And for that effect sent orders presently to the western shires to come furth, both horse and foote, to attend their arriveall; as also for a convoy brought with them David Lesly with the one half of his horse, and the other half he appointed Middleton to quarter them till their return at Alloway, for destroying the Earl of Marre's land, because of the loyalty of that family, and for my Lord Erskine's being with Montrose.

Moreover, at Glasgow, they caused execute at the Mercate Cross, upon October 28th, Sir William Rollock, and on the morrow Sir William Nisbet and Alexander Ogilbie of Innerwharthy; one whereof was but newly come from forreine parts, and the other was but a boy of eighteen years scarce compleated, presently come from schooles. And upon that occasion it was that Mr David Dick cryed out, "The work goes bonnily on;" which afterward passed in a proverb. The execution of the other persons they delayed till the down sitting of the Parliament at St Andrews. And in the meantime, Montrose had brought his army into the Lennox, and from thence faced Glasgow, with severall parties, expecting they would come forth and fight with him; but finding there was no inclination, he retired again unto Angus, where he heard the sad newes of the deceasse of Archibald Lord Naper his brother-in-law, whom he had left at Fancastle.

This Nobleman was so very old, that he could not have marched alongs; yet, in respect of his great wisdom and experience, he might have been very profitable by his counsell. Montrose had a care that his funerall in the Kirk of Blair should be accomplisht with all due and requisite solemnity; and therefore considering that upon that occasion the Marques of Dowglas, the Lords Erskin and Fleeming, and the rest of the Gentlemen that joynd with him at Bothwell, and yet adhered to him, would not be able to endure the winter toile and marchings; therefore he allowed them all to perswade their friends to capitulate for their offcoming, which was done: And himself, and the Earl of Airly, that never abandoned him, went towards Huntlye's country, again to use farder meanes to engage him and his friends. But they found Huntly enter into such a course as quite put them out of all heart and hope: And this it was, by vertue of the Commission received from the King, whereby he took up armes in the year 1644, before Montrose entred the cuntries, he choosed now again, with the assistance of his friends, to assert the King's interest, not knowing of Montrose.

This troubled Montrose, knowing thereby that he should be robbed of the gentlemen of the name of Gordon, in whom consisted the strength of his horse; and therefore by all means to court the Marques Huntly for the union of their forces and interest, and to that effect stayed a very long time in those parts; and at the same time there was a generall groaning in all the cuntries under the weight of David Leslie's horse army: For remedie whereof, the Committee resolved to keep at home only one brigade under Middleton his command, to waite on Montrose's motions, and David Leslie with the rest to return to England. So he

marched away to Newcastle, where the Scots army lay, (travelling at his return to Scotland come without a success from the sledge of Hereford in Wales;) and from Newcastle, very shortly thereafter, both he and the rest went forward to Newark, that he might joyn with Generall Pointz, who already had besieged Newark.

The Parliament met at St Andrews November 26: And thither from severall persons were brought these who had been taken after Philiphaugh to receive their doom; which Middleton's prisoner Stewart the Adjutant having heard of, he found a way to make his escape, and went up to Montrose, and the two Noblemen, the Earl Hartfell and the Lord Ogilby, being appointed to suffer first: The same night before the execution, the Lord Ogilby escaped out of the castle of St Andrews, in his sister's cloathes, who in his stead lay in his bed, till he was gone. And Argile conceiving this to be done by means of the Hamiltonians, in whom Ogilby had speciall interest, his mother being daughter to Thomas Earl of Hadington, and he himself being cousin german to Craufurd Lindsay; and therefore to pay it home, he would needs have the Earl Annandaill spared also, whose blood they were said as much to thirst after as any there whatsoever, and as Argile did Ogilby's: So the first that suffered was Sir Rober Spotswood, son to the Archbishop of St Andrews, (formerly President of the Session, and now Secretary of State,) a man of extraordinary worth and integrity, against whom (he never being a sword man) nothing could have been pretended, but that he had lately brought home a commission from the King his Master to Montrose.

Next after him suffered William Murray brother to Tullibardin, Colonel Nathanael Gordon, Mr Andrew Guthry son to the Bishop of Murray. The Commission of the Church did also presse that more myght be dispatched that way; which the Noblemen refused, desiring that they would help them to an overture, how the rest might be punished otherways than by their death, or the effusion of their blood; and the Commission taking it to their consideration, there were divers opinions about it; but Mr David Dick was preferred to them all: Who being asked by the Moderator, what he thought best to be done to them? And he answered in his homely way of speaking, saying, "Shame them, and herry them." This was applauded by all, and so was made the overture of the Parliament. Whereupon the Parliament ordained one great Comittie to sit at Lithgow on February 25; and to it were referred the whole remanent prisoners to be deeply fined.

Thereafter came severall advertisements from the Commissioners at London, bearing that the English Parliament would needs be freed of the Scots army, and therewith a declaration bearing in what manner they had payed the Scots all that was owing them. And of these items, as I remember, one was of 80,000 lib. sterling to be allowed them for the cabbage the Scots had devoured there. By which our great men saw how they were like to be gulled and slighted by the English, and that they meant to give them no more money, which afflicted them much; for the generality of the kingdom being already royalists in their hearts, albeit they were so kept under as they durst not profess it.

They considered that when the army was come home, if they had no money to bribe them to constancy in the cause, they would all turne Cavaliers for the King, and would be their undoing: And therefore their wits were employed to find out a device whereby that they might find more English money among their hands, both for contenting the soldiers and for enriching themselves. And indeed they soon found out a prettie one which could produce both. Neither did they so secretly keep it, but it began to be talked of, long before it was brought about; and thus it was: The King by this time was so low, as all men conceived he would be necessitate to cast himself either upon the English or Scots; and for this end the Lord Lowdon, Chancellor, Balmerino, and Sir Archbald Jonson, were ordained to repaire to London, to joyn with Lauderdale and the rest of the Commissioners there already, for advancing their designe; and also the Marques Argile was ordained to bring over the Scots army from Ireland, that being strengthened by that accession, their power might be so formidable to the English, as to make them (for eschewing a nationall quarrell) to deall more honestly and thankfully with them, even though it should fall out that they should get the King at their disposing.

These things being resolved, the Parliament adjourned on February 4. After which the Chancellor, Balmerino, and Wariston, began their journey for London; as also Argile began his for Ireland: Where before he passed from Sterline, he encountered there with his few country people which had outlived Innerlochty and Kilsyth, and they were in a very sad plight; whereof the occasion was this: They having at M'Donall's selling in Argile, retired to corners and lurking holes (untill hunger forced them to start out,) Auchinless drew them together, (being in all about 1200,) and brought them towards Monteith, and there to get up victuall for their sustenance from my Lord Naper's tennents and other malignants. But Inchbrakie chancing to come into Athole for the time, brought 700 Atholians, and fell upon them at Calender; where at the first they (being for the most part weaponlesse) altogether fled like mad men, divers of them being slaine in the flight, and many more drowned in the water of Gnidy; their haste being such as they stayed not to seek the foords. The rest that scaped never halted till they passed the river of Forth at the Drip, and arrived not far from Sterline, where the Marques found them. And he not knowing how to dispose better of them, brought them along with him to the shire of Renfrew, expecting that in these parts, (where all the people were furious in the cause,) they should have been welcome; but the contrary fell out, for their master's sake; for their neighbourhood was so displeasing to them, that presently they threatned to take armes and cut them off unless they were removed. Whereupon he sent them over to the Lennox, to quarter upon the Lord Naper's territories and other royalists in those parts, where they lived more securely; for that now Inchbrakie and his Atholians had marched north to attend Montrose.

Thereafter the Marques prosecuted his journey for Ireland; and the first affray that terrified his people (though the danger came not near to them,) was a report they heard that the young Lord Naper and the Laird of M'Knab, and John Drummond of Bal-

loch, with a foots company, had fortified Kincarne, the Marques Montrose's principall mansion house; which indeed was true. Whereupon Middleton drew together his whole army to it; and upon their refusal to render, brought a number of great ordnance from Sterline castle to batter the house; and yet they held out for 10 days, untill the noise of the cannon had so dried up the water, that they had now neither for man nor horse; whereupon they were forced to think upon another way. And so at midnight, the moon being set, the Lord Naper, with Balloch and John Graham, Naper's page (who only knew the way,) leading out three horses at a postern gate that was private, mounted the same without any noise, rode through the guards, and safely escaped their hands; and the rest on the next morning rendered on capitulations: Which being done, 35 of them were sent prisoners to Edinburgh, and the rest (being in number 12,) were shot at a poste, and thereafter Middleton caused set fire in the castle of Kincardine.

But before Middleton's removeall from that place, he received from the Comittie of Estates orders and letters from the Commissioners of the Church to goe northward, in regard of an advertiment they had received of Montrose's thriving in the north; whereof the true state was this: Having spent much time in courting of Huntly to an union, and finding no appearance of it, he left him to better thoughts, and went north towards Rosse, where he became so terrible to that shire and the adjacent, that the Earl of Seafort, (who allways formerly had a loose foote,) joyned cordially with him, and was also instrumentall to induce the rest of the gentlemen to come in from these northern parts. Wherein he prevailed so far, that albeit at first they would not come the length to declare for Montrose; yet agreed they to subscribe a band of confederation for persueing a nationall peace against all that obstructed the same, and on these termes to arme in the beginning of the year.

The principall hands at the band were, the Earles of Sunderland and Seafort, the Lord Lovait, the clannes of the Grants, Dumbars, Makintoshes, Monroes, M'Clouds, M'Onealls, M'Ronnalls, Inneis, Ballengown, and Brody. A coppie of the band being brought south to the Comittie of Estates and Commissioners of the Church, both sitting at Edinburgh, (for now by the mercy of God the pestilence was wholly extinguished,) and they became very much affected with it.

The Commissioners sent forth a declaration, discovering the malignancy of it: And the Comittie of Estates, by proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh, condemned it; and both the Comittie's proclamation, and the Commissioners declaration, were sent to the severall presbyteries throughout the kingdom, with peremptory command to all Ministers to read them in their pulpits, and to comment upon them. But the terror which that band brought upon both these judicatories of the Comittie of Estates and Commission of the Church was soon abated; for the Earl of Seafort being excepted (who never thereafter abandoned Montrose,) as soon as Montrose retired from these parts, most of the rest fell away.

Moreover, the Earl of Sutherland wrote to the Comittie a penitentiall letter, for his joyning in the band; and the Lairds of Inneis, Tarbat, and Brody, came to Edinburgh in person, and in presence of the Commission, disclaimed it, offering to remove the scandall which they had given by most solemne and serious repentence. While these things were doing, there came certaine report that Fairfax and Cromwell had besiedged Oxford city, his Majesty being within it. Whereupon men's conjectures became different, whether the King would comitt himself to the English or to the Scotts? But soon thereafter the case was solved, by Balmerino's returning from London, who came to Edinburgh on May 2, and reported to the Comittie of Estates and Commission of the Church, how they had handled the matter, and with such success, that he was confident the next advertiment would tell of the King's being in the Scotts army. And in this prediction he proved no false prophet; for on May 11, a post arrived bearing letters from the Generall and Comittie of the army, which declared how on May 5, the King having escaped from Oxford, under the notion of Ashburnham's servant (who only came alongs with him,) was now among them at Newark: And hereupon the Earl of Morton presently dispatched a letter for Ireland for calling home Argile, whereanent the royalists thought he was too bussy, as it soon proved afterward.

Now the first thing the Generall and his Comittie imposed upon the King, was to command his Governour of the city of Newark to deliver up the city to Generall Points; which being done, the King, with the Scotts army, were broght northward to Newcastle: And for some days after his coming the King was courteously used, so that his friends had liberty to speak to him privately: And of them some suggested, that, (besides Noblemen who had charge in the army,) there were also many officers of fortune that favoured him; so that if David Lesly could be gained, the army would be wholly gained to own him: And as for Argile, special creature, old Lesly, since his flight at Mastammoore, he was in no esteem among them.

But the King, for gaining of David Lesly, sent to him his own brother, and allowed him to give the assurance of the Earldome of Orkney for a reward, and for more if he would desire. Whereupon he took the matter to advisement, promising ere long to give his answer. But in the meantime there went from Edinburgh to Newcastle, the Earls of Lanrick and Calender and the Lord Balmerino, and (having kissed the King's hand,) these two moved his Majestie to send back a letter to the Comittie of Estates, expressing his resolution to comply with his Parliament, and to command Montrose, Huntly, M'Donald, and all that were in armes, to disband; which the Comittie caused print and publish, with bells, bonfires, and roaring of great ordnance. Calender being thus sent home, whom they were glad to be freed of at Newcastle, because it was alleadged that he favoured the King; Lanerk, Balmerino, and the rest, prevailed so far with David Lesly, that he gave them assurance not to condescend to the King in any thing till Argile's ariveall.

The Commissioners of the Church in the meantime, carefull to keep the Ministers in subjection, and therefore to keep the rest in order by terrifications, on May 7, they called before them Dr Strang, Mr Edward Wright, Mr Wilky, and divers others.

whom they used very roughly. But for making good his letter to the Comittie, the King dispatched Robert Ker to Montrose, Huntly, and M'Donald, for laying down their armes. The last two refused, but Montrose professed his readiness to obey his Majestie's pleasure, as far as conditions should be aggried unto and warranted; commanding Robert Ker, to make that report from him to the King. He likewise wrote privately in another letter to the King, that if the command had been extorted from him, he would as yet keep up armes, and hoped to enforce them in whose hands he was come to doe duty for him; but if the command was spontaneous, so as his Majestie esteemed it his will, that he should obey; he would do it on any termes, thogh never so hard to himself: And he humbly besought his sacred Majestie, to signify his secret will to him by the same bearer. But by this time, (the bloody bane of all Kingly government,) was returned from Ireland; and on May 29, he went to the King, and with him Crauford Lindsay, and the Earl of Morton; lykeas the Chancellor returning from London, came that same day; and most of them, as well appeared, with treacherous lippes, did kiss the King's hand.

Thereafter Argile, with the Chancellor, Crauford Lindsay, and Balmerino, entered with David Lesly on the maine point; and at length obtained assurance that he should not be tempted nor enticed with the King's officers to engage for him, untill Argile should first go for London and return again. And so leaving there (to hold David Lesly right,) the Chancellor, Crauford Lindsay, and Balmerino; Argile presently took his journey.

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on June 3; and the first thing that occurred in it, was a letter from the Commissioners at London, wherein they happened to be ingenuous, as to tell that there was but a small hope of settling Presbyterian discipline in England. Whereupon the leading men in the Assembly made the best gloss that they could; lest such as were disaffected to their way, should from it take occasion and advantage to argue against their proceedings. The next thing was the excommunication of George Earl of Seafort for adhering to Montrose.

Thereafter Messrs Robert Dowglas, Robert Blair, Andrew Cant, and James Guthrie, were appointed to repaire to Newcastle to attend the King. But Mr David Dick, and others of old standing, did not relish it well to be overpassed, and Mr James Guthry pitched upon, who then had not been a preaching Minister the space of four years. But the bussines was, Mr James had already given such evidence of his satyricall bitterness against the King, as made the Assembly to presume that he would encounter with him more proudly and boldly than any other, and therefore he was the rather preferred.

The proceedings of the Commission of the last Generall Assembly were approven, and a new Commission (consisting of the same members with little alteration) appointed for the next year. And all such Ministers as were under process for disaffection to the cause, were left over to the new Commissioners: As also the Laird Halliburton in the Mers, having given in a bill complaining on Mr Guthry, Minister at Lawder; Mr James Simson, Minister at Saltpreston, and their adherents, for encouraging and fomenting Brunisticall Conventicles; but he could not have so much equity as to have his bill read in publick; but the same laid over to the new Commission also. So the Assembly arose on June 11, with triumph.

And by this time Robert Ker (who had carried the former message,) returned from the King to Montrose, requiring him without more adoe to lay down armes. And besides that, the Marques received a secret letter from the King, wherein he wrote, that in case he did not lay down armes, they would make it a pretext for undoing him; and therefore besought him seriously to do it. Unto which Montrose condescended; and so Midleton (chief commander of the forces that opposed him,) having the conditions to intimate, there was a cessation of armes aggried on betwixt the two commanders. And thereafter, on July 22, they seled all these things themselves two alone, meeting in a haugh by the water of Yla, conferred the space of two hours, where there was none nigh to them saving a man to hold either of their horses.

The conditions were, that the Marques of Montrose, Lodowick Earl of Crauford, and Sir John Hurry, were secluded from all pardon and favour, excepting safe transportation beyond seas; and these to embarque before the last of August, the Estates affording them a vessel: Gorthy being forfeited, his person restored; but his Estate escheited (because already disposed of to Belcarras;) the rest, as well forfeited as otherways, to have their lives and fortunes safe, and to be in all things as before their engaging.

The Commission of the Church meeting immediately thereafter, disallowed of this aggriment, as contraire to the Covenant; and petitioned the Comittie of Estates to change it: Lykeas for themselves they went on in an ecclesiasticall way; and on July 27, they excommunicated the Earl of Airly, Gorthy, Inchbraky, M'Donald, Stewart the Adjutant, the Tutour of Straven, John Stewart of Shireglas, bailly of Athole. But notwithstanding thereof, General Midleton adhered to the settlement; and so upon the last of July, Montrose, having drawn all his forces together to a rendezvous at Ratrey, after a long and lamentable oration, disbanded them all. The Irish, and with them Lodowick Earl of Crauford, went wholly toward Argile, and there embarqued for Ireland. And so from thence the said Earl Crauford went straight toward Spaine, to receive arrcarages due to him by that King. The Earl of Airly, and all the rest of the Scottish, returned to their own homes. And Montrose himself, and with him old Hurry, to Old Montrose, the Marques speciall residence, to make preparation for his sea voyage.

But after some days aboad, they fell by Providence upon a vessel, which transported them safely to Norway, from whence he went for Holland, and thereafter to France, to attend the Queen. But before this time, Argile had accomplished the bussinesse for which he went to London, had the better successe because of Duke Hamilton's being there to concurre with him. For long ere this the Duke had left Pudenins Castle (the place of his confinement,) and was allready joynd to the Scots Commissioners at London: So they having communicated to their friends in the Parliament of England how necessary it were to

oblige David Lealy for keeping the Scotts army fixed ; and that in regard of those large offers the King had made to him, a small thing would not doe it. Therefore it was resolved to send him such propines as might undoubtedly gain him ; which being done, he would never more heare of owning the King : Whereby all his friends in the Scotts army were suppressed, and so nothing at all was attempted for him.

But presently the Earl of Morton (who before the rebellion got a gift from the King of his liferent of Orknay,) now obtains an heretable right of it. As also Earl Craufurd Lindsay had the Thesaurer's place settled upon him, which formerly, without the King's allowance, he had conferred upon him by the Parliament's donation. For now the King was redacted to such a posture, that he behoved to grant whatever pleased them to demand : Duke Hamilton, Argile, Lauderdaill, and the rest of the Scottish Commissioners, having often met with a Comittie of the English Parliament for advising what was best to be done, in reference to the King ; the result was once more to send propositions to him ; and being accorded thus, the Parliament did nominate the Earls of Pembrok and Suffolk, Sir Walter Darell, and Sir John Kipslie, Robert Gordon, and Luke Robinson, to repaire to Newcastle, and present them to the King ; Duke Hamilton was the first that informed the King thereanent, who arrived at Newcastle on July 11, did presently kiss the King's hand. At which instant of time, the day having been formerly faire and pleasant, there began suddenly an horrible thunder, with lightning and rain extraordinary, which continued all the night. And on the 24th, came the Marques Argile ; and as he in like manner kissed the King's hand, just the very like sudden thundering, lightning, and tempestuous raine as the other day, which began and continued all the night also.

This was talked of in many sundrie places, albeit in it there was nothing miraculous, (thogh indeed it might be observed prodigious,) in that sudden and unexpected change of the weather : Yet in regard it came without any preceeding appearance, and trysted precisely with that same moment of time wherein these men kissed the King's hand, many that were not Astrologers nor Mathematicians, had their own observations on it. On the next day, being the 25th, came the English Commissioners, and presented to the King the propositions, demanding a speedy answer, in regard their instructions allowed them but ten days, in that place and progress : The King having sadly considered these propositions, answered, that to many of them he could heartily accord for peace's sake ; but that among them there were some intermixed, whereunto he might not nor could not assent, unless he would unking himself and all his offspring.

These propositions came here in print, of the date at Westminster, July 4. 1646. I shall only insert these here against which the King tooke most exception : And first, it was craved that his Majestie signe the League and Covenant, approve the Assembly of Divines, and the whole proceedings of both Parliments. 2d, That in time coming the Parliament should choose the offices of State, Lords of the Councill, and the chieff Judges and Barons of Exchequer. 3d, That the Tower of London should be in the cittie's power. 4th, That all honours conferred upon any since May 1642, be declared voide, and none that shall attaine to honours hereafter to sit in Parliament, without the Parliament's consent : The like for the kingdome of Scotland. 5th, That in England be excepted from pardon, Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice ; the Earles of Darby, Bristoll, and Newcastle, and the Lords of Colington and Digby, Hopton and Germaine, and many Knights and Esquires more. And in Scotland, the Marques Montrose and Huntly, Lodowick Earl of Craufurd, and the Earl of Airley ; the Lords Gordon, Ogilby, Rae, and Harries ; Generalls Ruthwen and King, Bishop Maxwell, the Lairds of Drum and Gight, Sir Andrew Leslie of Auchtertowell, Colonels Cochran, Gorthy, and M'Donall. 6th, The Reformation of religion to be settled by act of Parliament in such manner as both Houses shall aggree upon, after consultation had with the Assembly of Divines. 7th, Concerning the militia, that the Parliament for twenty years ensuing the 1st of July 1646, have the full and whole power of the same, and neither the King nor his successors to exercise any part thereof. And the like for the Scottish kingdome : And after the said twenty years, in all cases in which the Parliament shall declare the safety of the kingdom to consist or be concerned. And shall thereupon pass billes for raising and employing force both by sea and land, that the King and his successors be obliged to ratify their billes : Otherwayes the same wanting the royall assent, shall have the strength of acts of Parliament, and be as valide to all intents and purposes as if the royall assent had been given.

These were the articles, (as was talked,) from which the King was most averse ; and no wonder indeed ; for the like was never read nor heard, that ever any King was urged to grant, or any subjects had the audacity or impudence to demand. So he moved to the Commissioners to divide the articles, and accept satisfaction in those he could yeeld unto : But they replied, All or none. Whereupon he told them, that since they were so instructed, it was none of his fault that they parted without accommodation ; but theirs who had appointed them to presse those points, whereunto he could not assent without wronging his inward peace, which was dearer to him than life. And therefore he behoved to dimitt them with a refuseall, and take his hazard whatever might follow : Adding only that of the Poet, *Qui jacet in fundo non habet unde cadat* ; which some that overheard him, Englished thus :

An happinesse, I must confesse,
It is to ly low on the grasse ;
I'm low, my fall cannot be great :
Out with thy worst, O cruell Fate !

So upon August 2, the English Commissioners removed from Newcastle homeward : And on the next day, the Chancellor, Argile,

and Dumfermline, offered to go up and treat with the Parliament for a mitigation of these articles. But whether or not the King trusted them, or expected any good by their means, is doubtful; but the Royalists, (who well knew their ways,) spared not to say, that their treatie would end in a bargain.

When these were all gone for London, Hamilton, Craufurd Lindsay, and Lanerk, parted next from his Majesty, and came into Scotland. And thereafter there was a strong guard put about the King, which, that it might be done handsomely, and upon some shew of reason, William Murray of the bedchamber furnished a pretext, suggesting privately to the King some motion anent an escape, and offering to make his way, by having a ship in readiness to transport him: But what entertainment his Majesty gave to the motion is uncertaine. But before the time came to which William Murray had trusted, it was divulged, that there was no other discourse throughout the army but of William Murray's plot to carry away the King. And thereupon was a strong guard of souldiers planted presently at his chamber doore, both within and without, whereby his Majesty was not only deprived of his liberty, but also of his quietness and retirement. And having an antipathy against tobacco, he was much vexed because of their continuall blowing of it beside him, and smoaking it in his face. But within few days, William Murray went up for London, where the Scots Commissioners caused put him in prison; yet was that interprete by many to be done out of policy also, that the King hearing of his suffering upon his account, might believe that his part had been honest towards him, and upon that accompt might trust him afterwards, whereby he might yet do them more service. And as to the King's restraint, he knowing that the Generall and his Comittie acted nothing but according to Argile and the rest of the great ones prescribed to them, therefore did he interprete to be resolved betwixt them and the English Commissioners before their parting from Newcastle, and had committed to the Generall to be done as soone as they were gone; which also made him apprehensive of worse to follow.

But yet the Duke of Hamilton, having given him ample assurance at parting of engaging the Comittie of Estates at Edinburgh to own him; and his Majesty considering that he had now the advantage of the Chancellor's, Argile's, and Warriston's absence, was able to rule the Comittie at his pleasure, intertained thereupon some small sparks of hope; and indeed the stately way of the Duke's first entrie, wrought upon many of the simple sort out through the land also to expect good by him; for the Duke, with Craufurd Lindsay and Lanerk, having come together at the Bield, (where his naturall sister was lady,) Craufurd Lindsay and Lanerk went immediatly to Edinburgh, where they arrived on August 6. But the Duke stayed at the Bield till the 11th, on which day, being accompanied with many of his friends, amounting to 400 horse, his Grace came to Edinburgh in pomp, and on the morrow went in to the Comittie, on foote, attended with the same train of attendants. Where it was resolved to call against the 18th day the whole members of the Comittie of Estates, and the Lords of the Secret Councill, for declaring whether to owne the King, or to retire the army and leave him to the English. Against that day they did all conveene, and so did the Church's Commissioners likeways: And after some debate upon the question, it was concluded that before they made any progress towards a resolution, first, three of every Estate should be sent to the King to deal with him, yet to signe the English propositions: And these nominate for that employment were Duke Hamilton, the Earls Craufurd Lindsay, and Cassils; the Lairds of Freeland and Brody, Sir Alexander Wedderburn, Clerk of Dundee, Edward Edgar, Baillie of Edinburgh, William Glendynning, Burges of Kircudbright; all which went away on September 2. But the Church's Commissioners sat still to attend their returne: And in the meantime fell upon the Laird Haliburton's bill, (remitted to them by the last Assembly,) concerning the conventicles kept in the Mers, by Mr John Guthry, Mr James Simson, and their adherents: And albeit many things were proven against them which were very gross and offensive, yet the plurality of the Commissioners voted them not censurable. From which divers sound and reverend Ministers dissented, and argued that their dissent might be recorded in the Commission's bookes; all which could not be denied, but was instantly done.

The Commission proceeded next to the censure of the Ministers that had been referred to them; and having spent some houres in examining of witnesses, deferred the pronouncing of the sentence till another time, in regard the Commission being returned from the King, they behoved to attend greater affaires. And upon September 16, the Commission made to the Comittie their report; which was, that the King refused to signe the propositions. Whereupon the Comittie sate for divers days thereafter upon the debate, and those that truly favoured the King did not enforce their opinion by reasons taken from his interest, (his enemies were so paughty, that they were esteemed malignants in the highest degree;) but for the account of reformation, that seeing the reasons that were holden out in the year 1643, for carrying our army into England, was to persue a reformation; and how then could they retire the army when that was not obtained? The Commission of the Church hearing that it was so, sent Mr Rober Blair, Mr David Dick, Mr Andrew Cant, and Mr James Guthrie, to the Comittie to desire that they would not linger their resolutions to retire the army upon the interest of reformation, because they would not presse men's consciences.

This was esteemed by the Royalists to be very contrare to their way in the year 1643, when they imposed so on men's consciences, as to constraine many thousands, both high and low, to subscribe, and also to swear the Solemn League and Covenant much against their hearts. However, the result of all the debates was, that the determination of the question should be laid over till the meeting of the Parliament, November 3. And when this came to be noised through the land, none was so simple but saw their contrivance, and how by that time the Chancellor, Argile, and Warriston, would be returned to carry the bussines quite against the King. And so they spared not to talk liberally of Duke Hamilton and his brother Lanerk, who being also able to have done in the Comittie whatsoever pleased them, and brought the matter to that pass; and indeed it would appeare that the de-

ferring of the business till the sitting of the Parliament had not been carried over the Duke's belly and his brother's; but had been upon some conclusion, which had been agreed upon at Berwick, betwixt them and those now at London. For that Argyle and the Chancellor, at their coming, did give assurance to the English Parliament, that nothing would be resolved on at home, till the meeting of the Scots Parliament in November. And upon that very ground the English Parliament did nominate a grand Committee to treat with them upon that subject. And being met, the English pleaded that they should have the sole power of disposing upon the King, excluding the Scots from any interest. And they, on the other part, contended, that since he was King of both kingdoms, both should have equal power, because of the League and Covenant, whereby both were tied jointly to act in all affairs. And that the honesty of the Scots Commissioners might be the better and more publicly understood, three of the Chancellor's speeches (that had been taken at three several meetings in the private chamber,) were sent home, and printed at Edinburgh. Also the Commissioners of both parties came at length near the point, as if the Scots would so condescend as to retire their army, and leave the King to them, they behaved to have their money, and they were content to give it. And so that being made the state of the question, What will you give us, and we will deliver him to you? The Chancellor was left to concur with Lauderdale and the other Commissioners that resided there, to drive the bargain to a price. Argyle and Warriston hasted home to attend the down sitting of the Parliament; and in the way Warriston got from the King the office of his Majesty's Advocate, (which vaked by the death of Sir Thomas Hope,) and likewise the rent of the Chappell Royall, (which vaked by the death of Mr Alexander Henderson,) the same had but lately bestowed upon Mr Robert Blair, and the King was not to be blamed for gratifying them, not being then in a capacity to refuse whatever they pressed on him. And on the other part, (albeit they pretended conscience for acting against him,) yet their consciences were so tractable that they would suffer them to receive benefices from him: It seems the only misfortune was, that Mr Robert Douglas being displeased that Mr Robert Blair had catched the morsell and not himself, did thereafter look more sowerly on the King than before.

The Parliament sate down on November 3; and the first thing that occurred was a letter from Middleton, for more forces to be sent to him for suppressing the Gordons: And so Hary Barclay's regiment, with two more, were ordained to march to him in the north. Thereafter, Middleton's capitulation with Montrose was ratified, notwithstanding that, (besides the Commissioners of the Church,) all the Argilian faction opposed the same; so great was the power of the Hamiltonian faction at that time. And these lesser things being done, the Royalists dealt with the Duke, that he would be pleased to bring the business of the main thing concerning the King to a conclusion: And in particular, Innerpefferie, (who was Commissioner for Angus,) having tried the pulse of most part of the Commissioners, and found them most part downright for the King, went to the Duke, and besought his Grace that without delay it might be gone about, assuring that now it would carry for the King by thirty votes: Whereas, if it were delayed, the Argilians and the Commissioners of the Church, trafficked so busily, as it might be feared that in progress of time they might draw away so many, as the cause might be lost. The Duke did thank him for his affection to the King, but without intreated him that he would leave the timing of it to him, who best knew what would be the best opportunity for it.

Likeas in the week following, Innerpefferie finding that even some of those who formerly had given him assurance were already changed, sent Sir John Hamilton, Justice Clerk, to the Duke, againe to shew that by men's inconstancy now they would only carry it by fifteen votes: And if it were delayed one week more, all would be lost; and therefore humbly besought his Grace instantly to fall upon it. But the answer he had by Sir John was the same that he had already received.

And indeed it was December 16, before the careless Duke made any mention of it; and then a grand Committee being chosen to consider of the business, there were letters from the Commissioners at London presented, shewing, that they were advanced in the way of agreement with the Parliament of England to receive in hand 200,000 lib. Sterling, and public faith for as much more to be payed at two termes; and for that to retire their army, and render up the King without conditions for him or our interest in him. In regard those of the Parliament's dependers who mynded to have owned the King, lingered to table the business till these letters did come, they collected that (notwithstanding his professions to the contrary,) he was on the course with the rest; and that the most part of them resolved to comply, lest otherways they should draw on themselves the wrath of the faction, and in the meantime doe no good.

After which, (that the grand Committee might go on more squarely,) the Commissioners of the Church published a warning, tending to keep in with the Parliament of England, and not to own the King. And yet the Committee's opinion to the Parliament was, that (once more) two of every state should be sent to the King for requiring him to signe the propositions, with this certification, that if he refused, they would retire the army and leave him to the English; to which the Parliament assented: And so nominate to go to his Majesty with the Commissioners, the Earl Lothian and the Lord Belcarras; the Lairds of Garthland and Freeland; Edward Edgar, and William Glendynning: All which took their journey on December 24. At this dispatch the Duke and his brother spoke a little against the tenor of the Commission, as being too peremptory; but were not contentious about it: And Argyle and his followers were accustomed to dispense with them, to make a flash in the beginning of every business, providing in the end they suffered it to goe their own way. Yea, the Commissioners of the Church, who were worst to satisfy of any, did take no exception against them. In token whereof they did (without any recommendations thereanent from the Generall Assembly,) relax from the sentence of excommunication at their owne desire, the Earl of Seafort and the Lord Ogilby (two whom Argyle esteemed his most horrid enemies,) and on that account did his utmost that they should not obtaine that favour, 1647.

In the first week of January, came the last advertisement from the Commissioners at London, that now they had perfectly aggrieved with the Parliament of England, to receive their moneys above mentioned, and to retire the army, and to leave the King to them, without any conditions for him, or our interest in him, as the act of the English Parliament did bear; which they also sent hither, and required a present answer. Hereupon the matter was againe debated in Parliament, till the Commissioners should againe returne from Newcastle with his Majesty's last refuseall. And thereafter, on January 16, by the voice of the House, it was concluded, that, according to the agreement with the Commissioners at London, the army should be retired, and the King left to the English, without any conditions for him or our interest in him. But for the negative, there were of the Nobility, Hamilton and his brother Lanerk, the Earl of Kinghorn, and the Earl of Tullibardin, the Lords of Spinie and Elibank; of the Gentry, Hackerton, Innerpeffer, Monorgane, and Cardane; and of the burrowes, the Commissioners of Brechen, Tane of Ross, and Forfaire.

The guilt and shame due to this infamous and ignominious act, ought not to be (without reason) imputed to the generality of the Scottish nation. Seeing first, concerning the Nobility; whosoever will be at the paines to compare the list of the Scottish Nobility with the sederunt of the Parliament, they will find that the third part of the Nobility was not present, very many being secluded for their known affection to the King, and others on other pretexes: And it may be some who would have been admitted, did of their own accord withdraw, being, on the one part, not resolved to comply; and on the other part, loath, by their dissent, to offend the party prevailing, lest they should encroach upon their fortunes. And for the Gentry, Burrows, and Cominallty throughout the land, (Fife and the western shires excepted,) viz. betwixt Hamilton and Galloway, there were one hundred for one that abhorred it, and would never have instructed their Commissioners that way: So that they have to answer to the greatest God for their deportment; howbeit those that sent them were so overawed, that they durst not challenge them. And as to the Ministry, howbeit they had always been so careful as to constitute the Commissioners of the Church, so as the plurality thereof should run their way; yet there were found among them who all alongs the debate explained themselves fully and fairly: Such as Mr Andrew Ramsay and Mr William Colvill, Ministers in Edinburgh; Mr Andrew Fairfoull, Minister at Leith; Mr Robert Knox, Minister at Kelso; Mr Oliver Scot, Minister at Innesse; Mr David Drummond, Minister at Lithgow; Mr Henry Guthry, Minister at Sterline, and many others. And for the body of the Ministrie throughout the kingdom, the far greatest part disallowed it; howbeit loathness to be deprived of their ministeriell charge and livelihood restrained them from giving a testimony.

Our act of Parliament being quickly sent up to the Commissioners at London, the English Parliament did without delay at Newcastle deliver the sum of 200,000 lib. sterling to the Scottish Commissioner Generall. Whereupon followed the delivery of the King, which was on Tuesday January 29, at nine of the clock; and immediately the army of the Scots marched forth and came homeward. The Earl of Pembrok, that had received the King, stayed with him till February 3, in the place; and then conducted him to Holmby house, where the English Parliament intended he should remaine. But while the Scottish army were in their way homeward, our Parliament concluded, that at their arryveall most part of them should be disbanded; and only a new modell was to be kept up, of 6000 foote and 1200 horse, to be commanded as follows: Rotmasters, the Generall, Lievtenant Generall, Major Generall, Sir John Brown, Robert Montgomery, the Laird of Edy, Lockart yonger of Lees, Thornton, Ludwharran, Sir Mongo Murray, and Richarton, Craigy, Hary Barclay, David Barclay, Colonell Fraser, Colonell of Foote, Argile, Auchinless, Dear Sandy Hamilton, Colonell Scot Petscotty, Hepburn: Then for Lievtenant Colonells, Argile stands, David Weems, John Reoch, John Inneis, John Hadon: And for Majors of foote, Argile, Auchinless, Middleton, Agnew and Blair. This cessation was talked of not only by sycophants, (whereof they had no scarcity;) but also by Ministers from their pulpits as an act of greatest ease done to the nation. Whereas it was well enough known they did it for their own security, and to procure such of the army, both officers and souldiers disbanded, as were tainted with that crime which they called Malignancy: And none were kept up, but those of whom they might be confident, that whatever they attempted, they would goe alongs with it. And as soon as the army arrived, there being three months pay resting due to every souldier, which being payed, they did all peaceably disband excepting those of the new modell.

But thereafter David Lesly, with a party of this new modell, was sent to the north, and there to joyn with Middleton for suppressing the Gordons, who yet kept up armes; and the rest to stay in the heart of the kingdom to guard the Parliament, and to be a terror to all those throughout the land that groaned for the King.

Moreover, the Earl of Morton obtained in Parliament a ratification of his heretable right of Orkney. Likewise of the English money the Parliament appointed to the Marques Argile 30,000 lib. sterling for himself, and 15,000 for his friends. As also for his comminallty, the Commissioners of the Church appointed all the Ministers throughout the kingdom to collect a voluntary contribution, and deliver the same to James Stewart in Edinburgh, and to George Porterfield in Glasgow, designed to be receivers thereof. The next week the Parliament ordained 3000 lib. sterling to be given to Sir Archbald Jonston of Wariston for a reward of his service. Bewarre that ere many years goe about, both Argile and he find not that this sweet meat may have a sower sause. And toward the close of the Parliament, it was appointed also by authority thereof, that Hamilton should have 30,000 lib. sterling of that money for his losses in the good cause; especially when Montrose lay at Bothwell: And it is not to be doubted but that Ministers also were anointed with the same liquor; but yet the same was so privately conveyed, that their proportions were not

divulged : And it was observed, that some of them lived thereafter very sumptuously, and divers of them became very rich, as Dick, Blair, Cant, and others.

At the length, the Parliament nominated a grand Committee of twenty for every Estate, with ample power to rule till the next Parliament ; which was not to sit till March 1648. So in March 1647, this tyrannical Parliament arose.

In the beginning of Aprile, came certain newes of David Leslie's good success in the north, how the garisons of Wairdhouse and Strabogie had both rendered to him : Whereupon he caused hang up all such Irish runnawayes as he found therein, giving quarters to the rest ; and that thereafter the Marques Huntly, all whose forces had forsaken him, and retired to corners till they might capitulate for their lives. Whereby himself, and some few gentlemen that adhered to him, were constrained to flee to Lochaber for shelter ; and thereafter wrote to David Leslie to deall with the Committee of Estates for libertie to them to remove out of the kingdome, which was refused. But thereafter Middleton, with his forces, being appointed to stay in the north for preventing of new stirres, David Leslie with his forces was called to come forth to the south, that they might be employed against M'Donall, who yet kepted up armes in Argile's own territories. For which end, David Leslie quartered his men in Straithalbin, keeping his hove quarter in Dumblane till the midst of May, (to which Argile having caused adjourne the Committee of Estates,) came to Dumblane to David Leslie and his army : and having begun his march on May 7, arrived at Innerara on the 21st, from which on the 24th they came to Cantyre, where was M'Donall with his power, reckoned to be 500 foote and two troupes of horses : and on the 25th, M'Donall skirmished with them from morning till night. And on the next day himself and his Irishes (knowing his inability to subsist against so strong a power,) and having boats in readiness, fled in to the yles, and from thence to Ireland.

But the countrie people, whom he had constrained to joyn with him, submitted upon quarter given them by David Leslie. But having rendered their armes, the Marques and a bloody Minister (one Mr John Nevoy,) prevailed with him to break to them ; and so the army was turned loose on them, and with Philiphaugh quarters killed them all without mercy. Whereanent it seemed David Lesly had some inward check : for while the Marques and David Lesly and he were walking over the ancklets in blood, he turned about and said : now, Mr John, have ye not once gotten your fill of blood ? This was reported by many that heard it.

Thereafter they transmitted their army by boats to Yla, for reducing that yland, and especially one castle in it called Duneveg, where M'Donall had planted a garrison ; and that being accomplished, they turned homeward. But before their arriveall, they heard certaine newes from England, how Colonell Joyce, with 1000 horses, by orders from Cromwell and Fairfax, (but without allowance of the Parliament,) had come to the house of Holmby, and carried away the King ; whereafter Cromwell and Fairfax had caused him for a long time to walk to and from the head of their sectarian army, (by which he contracted sickness,) they settled him thereafter at Hampton Court, with strong guards about him, whereby he had more sharp restraint than formerly he had at Holmby. To what this might tend, was not hard to prognosticate.

But here our Committee of Estates and Commissioners of the Church (being awaked to see the ghastliness of their shamefull and sinfull error,) found themselves concerned to meet and consider what was incumbent upon them upon this sad emergent : and on June 22 assembled themselves, adjourned again till July 12, that they might attaine further intelligence. But on July 17, arrived from London, Mr George Winram, who told them how the armies power was encreased, and libertie of conscience was judged to be aimed by them with an universall toleration : That Generall Pointz, (who formerly had served under the Parliament,) was by their order (without the Parliament's knowledge,) taken, and made prisoner at Pentfract Castle : And lastly, that on July 14th the army had sent to the Parliament some propositions of a very arbitrary and licentious straine. What these propositions myght be, was not well known or understood till the end of July. The Scottish Commissioners residing at London advertised, that at the receiving the propositions, the city, with the apprentices and watermen, did all joyn in a new body for the ends of the Covenant, and presented the same to the Parliament. And the first day wherein they appeared, the Parliament condemned the band, and discharged them to own it under pain of treason : But they, the next day, coming again in greater numbers, by orders from Cromwell and Fairfax, more tumultuously, the Parliament being compelled, recalled their former sentence, and approved of their way. Whereof Fairfax and Cromwell being advertised by the Sectarian party in the house (with whom they complied,) they drew their army toward the city ; and after some litle treaty, whereof Mr Martiall was the maine author, (who at his being here in the year 1643, professed to be Presbyterian, but now had wheeled about,) the city submitted to the army and the two forenamed Commanders in the head thereof, having the City, the Tower, and the Militia of the city, delivered into their hands, and all England wreathed under a yoke of insupportable slavery, which with their own hands, in depressing their Sovereaine, they had pulled upon their owne heads.

This great turbulence at London, made our great men that they knew not what to doe or say, being as it were confounded with shame ; and therefore they resolved to be quyet untill the designe thereof should appeare, and be better understood. So the Generall Assembly sat down at Edinburgh on August 3, and rose again on September 1. The principall thing done were the Assembly of Divines their Confession of Faith was approven, and a Directory for Family Worship : A nationall thanksgiving appointed to be celebrated on the last of September, for David Leslie's successe in expulsing M'Donall. The Commissioners of the former Assembly were approven for their fidelity and diligence, and a new Commission appointed for the year ensuing : to which all the particular affaires that came before the Assembly were comitted and referred.

The Comittie of Estates sate also in the meantime ; and having got from Landerdall and the rest of the Commissioners residing at London, further intelligence, concluded to send up the Chancellor and the Earl of Lanerk, to concur with them for the interest of this nation. Thereafter Argile went home to settle his country ; and on September 21, caused hang Collmagillespie, M'Donall's father, for his malice against his son. And the countrie being sore oppressed under David Lesly and his army, tooke advantage, in Argile's absence, to supplicate the Comittie of Estates for disbanding the same, expecting that the Hamiltonians, (who allwayes professed friendship to the Royalists,) would now (when he was not present to make opposition,) have it done. But the answer was, an act ordaining the army to disband on October 20, providing the Comittie of Estates, (which presently they adjourned till October 12,) should then think it expedient. When the Supplicants found that this was all, they called it a lick of creame ; and said it was like all the rest of the Hamiltonians doings, seeing it might well be presumed that before that time Argile would be returned to crush it, as it came to passe.

In the meantime, the Chancellor and Lanerk went for London, and thither also the Earl of Calender went for his own bussines ; but had no Commission. And he returned again long before the rest, having got from the King sundry benefitts, and among others the Sherifship of Sterlineshire, which formerly had been heretable to the house of Mar, untill the King would needs the Earl of Mar should resigne into his hands ; and in compensation thereof, and in satisfaction of other debts resting by the King to the Earle, gave him a good leese of the Lordship of Sterline for certaine years ; which notwithstanding Argile restrained from passing the Sealls ; such was his malice against the noble house of Mar, for the loyalty of it, even notwithstanding of many relations he had to it. But as soon as the Chancellor and Lanerk arryved at London, and had conferred with the rest of their correspondents in the Parliament upon the state of affaires ; one Mr Rough was sent from the Parliament of England to our Comittie of Estates, to urge that the Scotts army might be brought home from Ireland, offering only instead of all the arreses a fortnight's pay for their transport. This was the only affaire which he professed publicly to be instructed with ; but it was generally believed he brought other messages than that the Parliament thought fit to be divulged.

But in the beginning of October, Argile returned to Edinburgh to attend the down sitting of the Comittie on the 12th thereof, at which time the Duke and his adherents suffered him to carry the standing of David Lesly's army, untill the Parliament, (which was not to sit till March 1648,) should determine thereanent, whereunto the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly helped well, having (besides their present traffick,) emitted a declaration for that end. The army now being without fear of being disbanded, became more violent than before : For notwithstanding the monthly maintenance which was exacted through the whole kingdomes, for the intertainment thereof ; and so unmercifully, that every collector enriched himself thereby ; yet the sojors were overseen to take free quarters of all those whom they thought to favour the King ; and not only so, but also to doe them all the harme they could : There was no more adoe, but to make the report to pass that they were malignants, and then it was piety to pillage them. And besides this, another course had been devised formerly against them with more and more severity ; viz. to call before the Comittie all such men, and then ordaine them to lend so much money to the publick, and that whether they had it or no, all was one matter ; some 100 lib. Sterling, some 200, and some more, as the Comittie was pleased to determine ; and if any scrupled to obey, the proportion was presently doubled on him : Or if any professed the want of money, then some one or other of the collectors would offer to lend him money upon band, which against the terme made him lyable for the summ, and the interest to the boots ; and if he would obstinately stand out, he was shut up in prison till he condescended. They gloried so much in this device, that they used to contend among themselves, whether the quickness of the invention should be ascribed to the Comittie of Estates or to the Commissioners of the Church ; being (said they) that most excellent way for reaching heart malignants, (as they used to terme them,) who disallowed their course, and walked so reservedly that they might neither fine nor forfeite them they could find no pretexts ; and indeed they could not in a legall way : But yet by this device they extorted from honest men so great summes as might sufficiently beggar them, and made the Comittie sufficiently able to recompense their sycophants, and make baits that attended on them, and helped dayly to corrupt more and more.

Yet notwithstanding of this publick revenue, they neglect not to use more private meanes also, among which this was one : Archibald Lord Naper, (a Nobleman for worth and loyalty inferior to none in the land,) having in the year 1645, died in his Majestie's service at Fancastle in Athole, the Comittie resolved to raise his bones, and pass a forfeiture upon them ; and for that effect letters were raised, and ordained to be execute at the Peere of Leith, against Archibald Lord Naper his son, (then under exile for his loyalty,) to compeare on sixty days warning, and to hear and see the samen done ; and when his friends were startled with the noise of it, they found that it was to draw money from the present Lord Naper, for making up some sycophants that attended on them : And so they advanced in his name 5000 merks for that end, whereupon the pretended forfeiture was discharged.

But this was not the first of the Lord Naper's money which they had fished : For after Montrose's removeall, when he came home to settle his affaires, that he might also go abroad, the Comittie constrained him to pay to them 2000 lib. Sterling, under the name of a forfeiture, (because his noble father and he had in the year 1645 broken their confinements, and joynd to Montrose,) and that with such rigour, that albeit they were owing to him 8000 merks for victuall that they had bought from his father for the intertainment of their army in the year 1640 ; yet could not he obtaine the equity as to have the same allowed in the fore end thereof, in part of payment ; but needs would have him advancethe said totall sum of 2000 lib. Sterling, compleatly without any satisfaction for his victuall.

While they thus ruled, or else (in a most tyrannicall way,) misruled all ; they were pleased to make themselves merry with a

spectacle which to some was very sad: The Lairds Hearthill and Newton Gordon, who had been taken prisoners by General Middleton, and by him sent to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, these the Committee condemned to die: And albeit their friends, before the execution of the sentence, procured and brought home to them the King's remission, it was not regarded: but in despite thereof, (and of the just right of the Lord's anointed, and to let the world see what subjects they were,) both the Gentlemen were beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh; and for no other cause so much as alleadged, but for their loyalty; having been in the King's service, first under Montrose, and then under Huntly: Hearthill suffered on October 26, and the other very shortly thereafter.

Thereafter no new thing occurred till November 27; at the which time came from the Chancellor, Lauderdale and Lanerk, and the other Commissioners residenters at London, an advertisement concerning the King's escape at Hampton Court; whereof the occasion was said to be, a letter sent from some who pretended to be his friends, bearing that the Independents intended to murder him; and thereupon advising him to flee to the yle of Wight for his safety. Whereupon the King, having left a letter to the Parliament, (shewing the reason of his removing,) and another to Colonel Whaley, and another to the Captains of the Guard; he went away at night, and with him Captains Ley and Asburnham, and rode straight towards the yle: From whence Colonel Hammon, Governour thereof, had come ashore to attend his arriveall in that place, and presently received him, and convoyed him to Carisbrook Castle, within the yle. Upon notice whereof, our Committee of Estates and Commission of the Church did both meete very solemnly December 2: And the first occurrent was an advertisement from Middleton, that the Marques Huntly was now his prisoner, being taken by Colonel Mensies in Strathave, where he lurked for the time. The Committee ordered Middleton to send him in without delay to Edinburgh, where he arrived December 24: And the troupers that brought him alongs, at their entrie to the town, delivered him to the Magistrates, by whom he was guarded to the Tolbooth. But upon December 31, it was debated in the Committee, whether he should presently be executed, or laid over till the Parliament meeting. The Marques Argyle being his brother-in-law, (yet never the lesse his most cruell enemy,) withdrew when it was put to the voting. But all of his faction were for present execution; and so were the Church Commissioners also by their earnest solicitations; yet the last carried it on January 4, and only by one vote, that he should be spared till the Parliament; which went the rather throw that way, because of the advertisement which in the very meantime came from the Commissioners at London, touched them so deeply, that they valued the lesse what should be done or determined anent him: For now they were certified, that the Parliament of England had resolved upon a personall treaty with the King; he first condescending to four articles: 1. To quite the militia for ever. 2. That the Parliament have a power to adjourn themselves, as they pleased. 3. That the Noblemen by him created since his withdrawing from the Parliament sit not in the House of Peeres till the Parliament ratify their creation. 4. That he disclame all the edicts and proclamations emitted against the Parliament.

Upon this occasion, and for better consideration than formerly, the Chancellor, Lauderdale, and Lanerk, with the remnant Commissioners, began to act upon a new way; and whereas formerly it had been their custome to quarrell the King for not granting enough to the Parliament; now contrariway they alleadged, that if he should signe these propositions, he would even grant too much; yea, more than were fit or just. Whereupon, at first, when these four articles were drawn up by the Parliament to be sent to him, they entred their dissent before the Parliament, and emitted a declaration against the same. Which being by them sent hither to the Committee of Estates, was by them approven, (which was by many judged a miracle,) and reprinted at Edinburgh, whereby it might be brought to the knowledge of the liedges. Lykeas there was a letter of thanks sent to them, wherein it was desired that they should constantly stand to it. And when the Parliament's Commissioners went to the yle of Wight to present to the King these preparatory propositions, and desired that his Majestie would be pleased to sign them; the Scots Commissioners went thither also; and in his Majestie's name protested against the doing thereof. Which protestation being by them sent home to the Committee of Estates, was by them mightily approven.

The King being in a straight betwixt two, took the matter to advise upon, for some days; and in the meantime, the Chancellor, Lauderdale, and Lanerk, did (with profession of much affection,) insinuate, that rather than condescend to these, it were better for him to come some length in giving contentment anent the matter of Reformation; which, if his Majestie would condescend to doe, they would undertake that the whole kingdome should engage for his restoration. Whereupon the King and they entred to treatie concerning all such concessions as might satisfie the Scottish nation; and at length, by the midst of January 1648, his Majestie aggried upon certain articles, which they, in name of the kingdom, acknowledged satisfactory; and therefore they did undertake that the whole kingdom should owne his Majestie, and take up armes for his re-establishment. And when Mr John Chealy (who being first Mr Henderson's servant, and had been by him preferred to be clerk to the Church Commissioners) presented the paper to the King (which he was then to signe,) the King promised him the first vacant place in the Session; and made him Master of Requeists in the room of an old faithfull servant, who lived and died most faithfull, viz. Sir James Galloway, who had lately been advanced to the title of Lord Dunkeld.

Transaction being made betwixt the King and the Scots Commissioners, he called for the English Commissioners, and after a brief discourse, dimitted them with a negative answer. Which they at their returning having reported, the Parliament thereupon put as yet, that no man should thereafter make any application or addresse to him as King of England under the paine of treason: And withall sent an order to the Governour of the yle of Wight to shut him up in close prison, which was soon obeyed.

When the report of these things came here, true loyalists were confounded with grief, that his Majestie had not rather chosen

to have closed with the Parliament of England upon any termes, than to cast himselfe againe upon the Scotts, of whom experience might have taught him what to expect. But the Comittie of Estates and Commissioners of the Church were overjoyed, that now the King and the English were finally parted, and the game brought again into their hands. The return of the Commissioners was the next thing they wished for; whereanent also they were satisfied ere long; for having no more adoe at London, they hasted their home: And on January 27, Sir John Cheisly, Robert Kennedy, and Mr Robert Barclay, and on February 3 came the rest altogether, with two of the House of Commons commisionate from the Parliment of England, and with them Mr Martiall preacher; who (as I told you,) being here four years ago, confessed to be Presbyterian, but now turned aside to the Independents way, these told that the Earls of Nottingham and Stamford were also coming from the House of Peeres, and with them Dr Herle.

The Comittie of Estates and Commissioners of the Church being both sitting before the Commissioners arriveall to attend the same: On the next day after their coming, viz. on February 10, the Chancellor did make before the Comittie a relation of their proceedings in England; and he promised to add the next day to his discourse, excusing his brevity at that time by reason of his sicknesse; and on Thursday 13, he prosecuted his discourse. And thereafter Lauderdale spake more amply; which he might well doe, having from the year 1643 resided constantly at London, with a chief hand always in carrying on of bussiness. But the Commissioners of the Church were the first that administred to the people occasion to doubt, that ere all were done, the good King would have cause to repent the way he had taken; for the King's concessions being read and considered, the prime Ministers began to expresse their dissatisfaction with the same. Whereupon the Commission sent Mr Robert Dowglas, Mr David Dick, Mr Robert Blair, and some others, to the Comittie of Estates, with a desire that there might be still a correspondence betwixt the Church Commission and the Comittie of Estates as formerly, that religion myght sustain no prejudice. The message was well received by the Comittie of Estates: and so much the better, that the Marques Argile backed it, who now was beginning to make head against the transactions in the yle of Wight. So the Comittie of Estates appointed a Comittie wherewith the Church Commission might correspond, to consider the danger of religion. The members of this Comittie were to be thrie of every Estate, joyned to the Commissioners who the years past had been Commissioners at London, and had resided there for some time. So of the Nobility were chosen, the Duke Hamilton, Lanerk, and Calender, (for the Chancellor and Argile were of the number of the foresaid Commissioners, and so needed not to be named;) and the reason why Lanerk was named was, because thogh of late he hapened to be with the rest in the yle, yet was not to be in the list with those who some years agoe had been chosen constantly to reside at London: Those of the Gentry were, Dury, Leas, and Tosts; and for the burghs, Archibald Sydserf, Commissioner of Dundee, and St Andrews.

Moreover, on Saturday 19, came to Edinburgh, from the House of Peeres, the Earl of Nottingham, and with him Dr Herle, leaving Stamford at Berwick, who was said to march the more slowly, because of the weight of the money he was said to have brought alongs with him. Dr Herle preached in the great Church of Edinburgh on Sabbath 27, and was observed not to pray for the King. The Commission of the Church ordained that none should employ Mr Martiall to preach, it being well known how active he was for the sectaries: And also for that it passed current, how, being on his way hither, he had preached at York, upon Ezekiel xxi. ver. 25, 26, and 27, applying these words most impiously against our Sovereaine: Yet not the less Mr George Gillespie employed him to preach in the said kirk on March 25, and was not censured.

The Commissioners and all the Argilians, became more and more averse from approving the transactions with his Majestie in the yle of Wight: And at length voted, that the transactions of the King, (which the said Commissioners, in name of the whole kingdom, had accepted as satisfactory,) not to be satisfactory, and to be destructive to the Covenant, and emitted a declaration against it. All which was carried in the Comittie by plurality of votes, there being in the meantime divers reverend Ministers in it who dissented, and pressed that their dissents might be recorded: viz. those who had formerly owned his Majestie, and a great many more also, of which number also was the Transcriber. Upon the notice of the declaration, the Comittie professed to have been much displeas'd; yet nothing followed thereupon.

The Parliment met on Thursday, March 2, whereof the Chancellor was elected Preses. The first debate that occurred concerned Commissioners; for it fell out that in some shires were double elections, which came to pass on this occasion: The Argilians having trafficked through the shires, for Commissioners that might run their way, to be sent out; it so fell out that in some shires, where the major part had elected one that favoured, the other pitched upon one of a contrary temper, and commissionate him. And so in Clackmananshire, the major part choosed Mr Robert Meldrum of Tullibody, (a dependor of the Hamiltonians;) but a few depending on Argile, choosed Sir Charles Erskine of Alloway. So also in Perthshire, the greater part choosed the Laird of Balthajock and Inchartine, and the Parliment rejected Sir Charles Erskine of Alloway, with Edle and Freeland: As also they rejected the commissions of the Lairds of Wedderburne, Craigvar and Tosts, as having been carried on by tumult and faction.

At the length, upon March 8, arrived the Earl of Stamford from Berwick with the money, which was so privately dispensed as it came not to be publickly known: Therefore I shall not averre any thing anent it, but that I am certaine no true royalist had any share of it in the least. But the Church Commissioners presented to the Parliment, by Messrs Dowglas, Dick, Blair, Cant, Levistone, and Gillespie, with the Laird of Dundas, Sir James Stewart, and Mr George Windram, (as ruling elders,) their declaration against the King's concessions: The Parliment gave it to their severall bodies to be considered, discharging in the mean-

time to publish it till the Parliament be further advised; notwithstanding others of the Commissioners, upon the 12th of March, printed it. After which, the Parliament desired that it might not be spread abroad, untill the further advisement. But not the less on Monday 14, the Commissioners made an act for the publick reading of it in all the Kirks within the kingdom, and presently sent it away to the severall Presbyteries for that effect: in respect the Parliament dispensed with all these things. The jealousy which Gillespie entertained of the Duke and his brother Lanerk was much increased, that they and Argile were not so cordiall in their ends and aimes as they professed; for a remedy whereof, and that it might appear to the world that there was a reall division amongst them, there was a combate taken on betwixt Argile and the Earl of Crauford Lindsay, to be fought on March 21, at five o'clock in the morning, in the links of Stanihill, (Major Inneis being Argile's second, and Lanerk, Crauford Lindsay's:) they kepted the dyet, and were an hour on the place ere any redders came. So they had leisure enough to have foughten if they had been willfull. Allways the pretended intention of it gave such offence to the Commissioners of the Church, that the Marques Argile behoved to make his repentance before them, because he had a hostile minde; and Crauford Lindsay was required to doe the like, but would not. The combate furnished matter of sport for a time.

Upon expectation which strangers had of this kingdome's engaging in war, there were by this time Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Philip Musgrave, Sir Thomas Glaimmount, and others, English commanders, that came here for offering their service in the cause: And within a short time afterward, came upward of 100 more to Peibles and Kelso, to attend on employment: And lest they should have been misconstrued, sent two of their number to the Parliament to represent the cause of their coming. This stirring of strangers put life in honest folks. Whereupon it came to be mentioned in Parliament, that some course might be taken anent the declaration of the Commissioners. The Duke and his brother approved the motion, and proponed that a declaration should be published against it; but yet suffered the same presently to be rejected. Next, that a declaration should be emitted; but having once spoken of it, never pressed it more: And so this motion evanished in the aire also, and nothing at all was done.

And thereafter it was proponed in the Parliament, that six of every Estate to be nominated, that should have the full power of determining in these greatest affairs and bussinesse; for which effect every one of the three Estates were to elect twelve of their order; which being reported in the Parliament, the House out of each twelve should pitch on six; and this motion by voting was concluded, notwithstanding that Argile and all his faction opposed it: For so absolute was Hamilton's power, that he could carry what he pleased; many adhering to him by the interest of blood and friendship, and others thought that he was in earnest for the King; and when the severall bodies met apart, Argile and all his adherents refused to voice in the nomination of twelve: But it was done without him; and when the report being made of three times twelve, the Parliament began out of each to pitch on six, the Marques and his adherents not only dissented, but also protested against it; and therewith removed to the doore. Those that joynd with him in the protestation were the Earls of Cassills, Eglington, and Lothian; the Lords of Arbuthnet, Torphican, Burleigh, Balmerino, and Cowper; the Lairds of Scotsraig, Humby, and Wariston; and for the Burgers, John Scot in Sterline, George Porterfield in Glasgow, with some more petty Burgers and Commissioners in Fife and the west country.

The Parliament not the lesse proceeded to the nomination of six out of every twelve statesmen, viz. out of the Nobility, Hamilton, Argile, Crauford, Lauderdale, Lanerk, and Calender. Out of the Gentry, Innerpeffer, Colinton, Arniston, Lees, Humby, and Warriston: And of the burrowes, Archibald Sydsers, Baillie of Edinburgh, Sir Alexander Wedderburn, Clerk of Dundee, James Robertson in St. Andrews, and Thomas M'Burnie in Drunfreis. This being concluded, it was next motioned that the Argilians, and all that joynd in the protestation, should be censured as their offence deserved. But the Duke and his brother disallowed that as inexpedient: So they were called again, and desired to take their places without so much as one word of rebuke for their separation.

But then the Commissioners of the Church appeared again, and professed their dislike of the power given to that Committee: Whereupon the Parliament did appoint some of the Committee to conferre with them anent the bussines. At the conference, the Commissioners presented some articles of an oath, which they desired to be taken, viz. an oath of association for pursuing the ends of the Covenant in 1638: *1mo*, Concerning religion, (viz. their Covenant,) that except the King first subscribe and swear both Covenants, it is unlawfull to endeavour his restoration. *2do*, That Popery and Prelacy be extirpated, as also Erastianisme, and all other sects. *3tio*, No conjunction with Malignants in any of the thrie kingdoms. *4to*, No negative voice to the King. *5to*, That thir articles be added to his coronation oath, and all his successors. *6to*, All that reject this oath not to be capable of any charge, ecclesiasticall or civill, and are not to enjoy their own fortunes.

These of the Committee that treated with the Commissioners, rejected all this stuff; whereupon the Commissioners gave up their communing with them for that time: And yet, upon March 22, the Commissioners gave in a new paper to the Parliament, concerning eight propositions, which they desired to be admitted: Whereupon the Parliament added two more of every Estate to the former Committee of eighteen, viz. the Earles Roxburt and Traquair, the Lairds of Inneis and Garthland, John Kennedy, and Mr John Hay at Elgin, making the Committee in all to consist of twenty-four, and ordered them to tryst with the Ministers anent the propositions: But having met, they did not accord; and so the Ministers left off treating any more with the Committee.

In this meantime arryved, on March 26, at Leith, a pinnage, which set ashoare Sir William Fleeming, whose earand it had been talked to be, that the Commissioners of the yle of Wight had sent to the Queen and Prince for assurance of their resolution to engage this nation for the King: And now he was come from them, to learn what they might expect as to the performance.

The letters were delivered to the Chancellor, Hamilton, Lauderdale and Lunerik. Within a few days they dispatched him back again with their answer; and to be in company with him, William Murray of the bedchamber was embarked with him; whose name was so odious among Royalists, that they were sorry that the King or the Prince should have such a man as him.

After long delay, at length, in April 12, three things were proposed; 1. They should demand the King to be brought from his prison in the yle of Wight, to London or thereabouts, in honour, freedom, and safety. 2. They should demand of the English Parliament to disband their Scotarian army. 3. That religion should be established according to the Covenant and treaties. Against all which, voted Argile, Cassels, and Wariston, and some few others; for others, who in all other things were harmonious, yet differed from them in this vote: And thereafter the Parliament went to determine the branches of the Covenant by the English, and ordered that some might be sent up to demand reparation thereof.

But all this time the Church continued very angry; so that from the severall Synods (convoened in April,) came supplications to the Parliament, that nothing might be done with the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly. Lykens old Generall Lesly and David Lesly, and Hepburn, signed a supplication for the same end. This gave occasion to a great many reformers to joyn in the contrary; and to supplicates that the Parliament would go on, avowing to offer life and fortune in the cause. But in the third week of Aprile, the Commissioners of the Church came againe, and having regrated that so litle regard was had to the supplications of the Synods; and themselves did present to the Parliament new papers, which was remitted. And on Aprile 20, the Parliament having caused to frame a nationall declaration, and voted and concluded the emitting thereof; whereanent one thing was observed, that Sir James Lockart mentioned that it might be expressly in the declaration that we should unite with none but such as took the Covenant, the Duke and his brother seemed angry with him, and would have it thus: That we should unite with none who take up armes to oppose the Covenant; and yet presently they acquiesced to it, that it should be expressly in the terms that Sir James had moved it; and Argile and his adherents renewed their dissent, and required the same to be recorded, which at the length cost some of them dear.

But afterward, in the last week of Aprile, it was concluded in the Parliament, that the kingdom should be put in a posture of war: This had been sooner done, were it not the division in judgment which was among the members of the Parliament, and generally also among the Royalists throughout the kingdom, concerning the chief place of command: For both the Generall Lealies were against the ingagemment, and drew with them to their way Colonel Scot, Colonels Ker, and Hepburne; and so there came two only to be talked of, in reference to the highest place of command: And the first was the Duke of Hamilton, whose friends contended that it might be settled on him; the other was the Earl of Calender; and every Royalist was for him, that he might be the man; being more jealous of the Duke, because of the late emergents: viz. the lingering of resolutions so long, and his complying with the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly; and withall his not censuring Argile and his adherents for their protesting.

These things being added to the former grounds of prejudice against the Duke, made them that as yet could not condeseend harmoniously on the bussines. Yet nevertheless the act of posture made on the 28th Aprile, the Parliament dispatched Lievtennent Colonel Martiall to the Parliament of England, with a remonstrance of their breaches, allowing him only ten days at London, and thereafter to return, whether he got an answer of the Parliament or not. Likewise Sir Marmaduke Langdale went away with a party of English horses, which joyned to him on the Border, and Sir Philip Mugrave at the same time had Carlisle rendered to him: The people both in it and Berwick willing to comply with them, and admitt them; whereby the towntes might be usefull to the Scots army: And on May 3, the Parliament concluded a levy of 30,000 foote, and 6000 horse; and also to call home Major Generall Monro, with his army, from Ireland, to joyn in the expedition; allowing them a month's pay in ready money; whereof one fortnight's pay before their lifting, and the other half at their landing; and the Lord Cochran and the Laird of Garthland to go over for them.

And the Parliament, after the act of levy, did also make another act: That none should speak against the proceedings of the Parliamt, under all highest paines: Yet did Argile and all his adherents openly speak against it, and more boldly than before renewed their dissentings, and were never censured for it. And the Church's Commission expressed great dialyke, and solemnly protested against all that was resolved: Sending to the severall Presbyteries the copies of their protestation, with a very strict order to keep a fast upon the last Sabbath of May; all which was represented to the Parliament: Yet such was the Duke's clemency and his brother's, that they suffered nothing either to be said or done to them; which rendered their acts contemptible, and made the jealousy which many harboured against them to grow daily more and more.

Nevertheless, upon May 10, the Duke of Hamilton was made Generall of the army, and thereafter Calender Lievtennent Generall both of horse and foote; Middleton Lievtennent Generall of the horse, and Bailly Lievtennent Generall of the foote. Many of the Colonells and other Officers continuing as before. But one strange than all others, that whereas Argile and his adherents had to their utmost opposed the act of levy, yet they were designed Colonells in their respective shires. A Comittie of war was also nominated in every shire for promoting the levy; and on May 11, The Comittie of twenty-four, being ordained by the Parliament, to rule in the interim, adjourned itself in the meantime till the first of June, whereby the Noblemen and others that had charge in the army might retire home, and go about their levies; and at their parting were refreshed with good news, that the Duke of York, who had been the Parliament's prisoner, (in the keeping of the Earl of Northumberland,) was escaped, and safely arrived beyond sea: And also, that in the north of England considerable numbers were drawn together to Sir Man-

made Langdale and Sir Philip Musgrave, in so much as they were alike to swell to a considerable army; and all things seemed prosperous like in the beginning. Yet it was taken for a dismal presage, that still the tempestuous rains swelled the rivers, all the spring and summer, and to the middle of harvest, whereby many things were impeded: And a great dearth and penury followed, by reason of the crop of corns either rotted in the fields or never ripened, and greatest part thereof shaken with noisome winds.

But alwayes the Church's Commissioners continued highly displeas'd with the conclusions past in the Parliament; in token whereof, as soon as the grand Committee sate, they presented thereto a refutation of the Parliament's declaration, and thereafter sent the same to the severall Presbyteries, together with a strict prohibition, that no man should presume to read the said declaration under the pain of sharpest censure: And as soon as the Parliament, the opposers of the levy went in all haste home to employ themselves in the obstructing of the same: But Argyle stay'd a day longer in the town, giving instructions to Major Straughan, whom they sent to Cromwell; and his errand at first was concealed: But at the length it broke out, to desire Cromwell to send in a party to Scotland, with which the opposers of the levy might joyn to make up a compleate division.

This being represented in the grand Committee as a dangerous prologue to be taken notice of, was nevertheless alighted by the Duke; affirming that he had certaine notice, that their rising (which was near London,) by the Lord Capell, Colonel Goring, and others, gave to Cromwell so much adoe, and the other in Wales by Poyer, that there was no cause of feare from England; and so neither censure made, nor punishment inflicted, for their trafficking. And the Duke himself, immediately after it was resolved, retired to Hamilton, for looking about his private busines; having appointed the grand Committee to sit not the less in his absence.

And immediately after Straughan was safely gone, the restless Argyle went over to Fife to deal with the Gentry there, not only to oppose the designed expedition, but also to be in a readinesse to arise upon the other account, whensoever the call should be given. And having engaged Fife, he returned to Stirlingshire, where he found not the like success; for none of the Gentry there were inclined to comply with his humour, excepting the Laird of Buchanan and Sir William Bruce of the Stanehouse, with a few more of the inferiour sort: From thence, on May 21, he removed to Dumbartonshire, where his prevailling was easie, in regard the people thereof lying under his feet, must always be at his devotion; and from thence he hasted to a meeting with the Chancellor, Cassils, and Eglinton, Mr David Dick, and other Ministers, (which held at Eglinton's house on Moonday, May 22;) and there having made account of his instructions given to Major Straughan, and of his success he had in the shires, they parted, and he returned to engage his own people, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring yles. And by that time Colonel Martiall was returned; whose report to the Committee was, that the Parliament of England averred they would send their instructions to their owne Commissioners that resided there. These were the Earls of Nottingham and Stanford; and for those of the lower House, Mr Ashurt and Mr Walker returned home in Aprile, and with them Mr Martiall.

The first disobedience to the levy was reported to be from Glasgow; for remedy whereof, the Committee commanded Colonel William Harry, and Major Sir James Turner, (who had received Hepburne's regiment,) to march to the west, and ly at Glasgow till both the city and the country be constrained to give obedience. But the people of Glasgow being still disaffected, used them so unkindly, that it behoved them to carry themselves more rudely than otherways they were inlynd.

But nevertheless the Glascovians had the confidence to send two of their Baillies to Edinburgh, to complaine to the Committee of Estates upon them; who for their undertaking such a commission were imprisoned; and the rest of the Magistrates who had sent them, were cited to appeare before the Committee. But this was done in absence of the untowardly Duke; and by this the people of Glasgow were so affrighted, that they promised, without any delay, to give cordiall obedience, in the putting forth their levies, which not the less they did not perform until they got the second wakening.

The next occurrence was the wives of Edinburgh began to appeare on the stage against the act, as at the beginning, abusing the members of the Committee on the streets; yea, on May 29, they invaded their own Provost so furiously, that he was constrained to retire to his owne house for shelter; and for some days kept within, and durst not appeare. And withall, on May 31, the Lords and other members of the Parliament returned all, except Argyle, Cassils, Eglinton, and some others of their gang; and the Duke entring by the West Port, rode through the town to Halliroodhouse, accompanied with 400 horse. And on the morrow, June 1, the Lords and Gentry having betimes gone to the Abbey to salute his Grace, he choosed to walk with them on foot to the Parliament House; where, in the way, some of the wives that had routed the Provost, made bold to invade the Duke himself, throwing stones at him: Among whom the principall ringleader was one surnamed Kelly: who being sought by the Magistrates, hid herself for a time; but her husband was incarcerated till he should present her.

But the Parliament being assembled, there appeared many Ministers and Gentlemen from Glasgow, from Fife, and the western shires, to supplicate against the levy; whom Lothian, Balmerino, Bursigh, and Wariston, assisted, and all spurred on by Argyle. Their supplication was referred to the grand Committee of 24; to which, in regard of the absence of some, were added thrie of each Estate, viz. of the Nobility, Dumfermilne, Balmerino, and Bargaeny: Of the Gentry, Clerkington, Mannor, and Tullibody: and of the Burgers, James Lenron in St Andrews, and Alexander Strang in Forfare. The Committee having considered their supplications, rejected them; and on July 7, gave to the Church Commissioners, by the Earls of Craufurd and Lauderdale, a declaration, which rather exasperated them than satisfied them. And therefore on the morrow, they did all in wrath remove the Earl of Craufurd out of the Commission, where he formerly had sate as a ruling elder; giving for the maine

reason of it, that as yet he had not made his repentance for the intended combat betwixt him and Argile. Therefore soon thereafter the Commission gave up treating with the Parliament; and also sent to severall Presbyteries an act ordaining all Ministers to preach against the engagement, under the paine of deposition. And the Parliament made an act to the contrary; but most of the Ministers obeyed the will of the Commission, because they pretended that they did not well understand that the Parliament were in sad earnest; and the Parliament pretended that they did not understand what they meant, except the ruine of the kingdome with the King; and indeed when such as did not obey the Commission came afterward to be persecuted for it, they found little sympathie from Parliament men.

And by this time, Colonell Hurry and Major Turner sent word to the Parliament, that the west country, those that opposed the levy, were like to draw to an head; whereupon the Earls of Calender and Middleton, were appointed to hasten westward with more forces.

After which, the Parliament being certified, that (except in the west of Fife,) the levies were in all the other shires completed, and the regiments ready to march; therefore they hastened towards a close: And the last acts done in it were these; 1. That the Magistrates of Glasgow, (that had been imprisoned in the Duke's absence,) were enlarged and dimitted, without all further censure. 2. The woman called Kelly, who had thrown stones at the Duke, was pardoned. 3. It being pressed by some of the members, that Argile's late traffiquing through the shires, and dispatching of Major Straughan to Cromwell, might be noticed; yet the motion was crushed, and instead of censure, he was by a courteous letter from the Parliament, invited to come and embrace his place of a Colonell of a regiment in the army. But they were still rendering themselves more ridiculous, by seeking hote water under the yce, and fomenting the bane and ruine of all that they were intending.

But the worst of all is last; from the beginning of the Parliament till this time, nothing at all had been moved concerning the Marques of Huntly; notwithstanding that his friends did frequently importune the Duke thereanent: And so it was construed, that his enlargement might be the last act of the Parliament; knowing well how acceptable it would be to all true-hearted loyalists, that the Nobleman who so long had been closed up in a stinking goall, should now receive his liberty. But all that was determined anent him was, that his imprisonment should be changed from the Tolbooth to the Castle, whereby he might find a more wholesome aire.

This was interpreted to be an horrible absurdity, that now when Argile's back was turned, (the Duke having such power in the House, that he might doe what he pleased,) the noble prisoner had found no more favour: And indeed men could see no other designe in it, but to gratify the Argilian faction, by continuing him under restraint, that when they should recover their power again, he might be a sacrifice to their old malice, by cutting off his head, as at length it came to passe: And it made many to speak their mindes freely, that the Parliament had sold their army to Cromwell, when they put it under Duke Hamilton's hand. On June 10, being Saturday, the Parliament arose, having first appointed the next Parliament to be held in March 1650: And also having appointed to rule, with ample power, in all emergents, a settled Comittie, in ordinar manner; as also *pro re nata* to call a Parliament before the dyet, and nine of the Comittie to make a quorum at home, and seven in the army; and in matters of concernment, the two Comitties to correspond. Anent this modell of the Comittie of Estates, one speciall thing was observed by those who were possessed with prejudice against the Duke; and it was, that his Grace would needs have Argile and his adherents members of the Comittie, notwithstanding that they had openly deserted the Parliament, and had now actually joyned in stirring up rebellion and enmity against the same.

This, with the former, made it appeare, that now, at the close of the Parliament, the jealousy that the Royalists had of the Duke, was greater and more universall than at the very down sitting thereof. Allwayes the Noblemen and others in charge hastened home to bring forth their regiments; that at the end of the month the army might be drawn toward the south borders: And by this time Calender and Middleton were come the length of Paislay with their forces; and having appointed a rendezvous of their regiments, together with Hurry's and Turner's, at Stewartoun, on June 12, and learned there that a great number were in armes against them at the town Machlyn; whereupon Middleton commanded them to disband, presented six troupes of horse to them, requiring them to give obedience to King and Parliament. And the reason why they brought not with them a greater number was, for that the Earles of Glencarne and Fglinton having come to salute Calendar, assured them that their number was nothing considerable; yet notwithstanding of what the Earles had averred, Middleton found them to be 2000 foote and 500 horse; and thereupon they boasted away for more forces.

The principall commanders of these western people were some Ministers, viz. Mr William Adam, Mr William Guthry, Mr Gabriell Maxwell, and Mr John Nevoy, old Cant's nephew. These parlied with Middleton; but when all peaceable means were vilipered, they would needs fight it, and so would their misled people, viz. 600 of Duke Hamilton's own men in Evandale and Leshmabago; who having risen at his elbow, at the very time he was at Hamilton, were nevertheless most violent of all others. But the fight lasted not long; for Middleton at an instant put them all to the rout; 800 of them being killed in the place, and the rest taken prisoners, excepting a very few who escaped by speed of horses. The prisoners were all dismissed without any hazard of suffering, excepting three souldiers of fortune, whom a councill of war had condemned to die; yet were these also, at the request of some ladies, pardoned. And so no execution followed upon this victory: which had not been the custome of former times, when any that fought for the King fell into their enemies hands.

Shortly after this victory came certaine intelligence that Lambert, with 2000 horse, had come the length of Carlisle: but when

he heard tell of the discomfiture of his friends at Machlyne, he retired again toward the south : And gave occasion to talk of Strauchan's viage to Cromwell ; for that Argile (said they) would rather to joyn with the Devill than with any that owned a King ; albeit the Duke slighted it very absurdly, and conceived that Lambert's coming northward had been to joyn with him, had not the discomfiture interveened : Which was the more probable ; for that Argile had caused Auchinlesse to draw his regiment at that time to Down in Menteith ; where, if the fight had prospered, they might presently have possess themselves of the town and bridge of Sterline, which the Parliament had no ways secured, for making sure that pass, whereby the Fifemen myght have a safe and an easy march toward them. But whatever the contrivance was, Middleton's victory disappointed it. Whereupon the gentry of the west gave strict bands to obey in putting forth their levies ; and yet thereafter they did not perform the same. Nor were they challenged by the Committee of Estates for their deficiency ; so sillily were matters carried.

The west being quieted, Calender, Middleton, and the rest, drew their forces towards the south to joyn with the army, which by that time was come together near the Border. And on Saturday, July 8, the whole army marched southward to England ; and on the morrow after, had the city and castle of Carlyle delyvered to them. And Berwick shortly thereafter delyvered to Lodowick Lesly, who is appointed to be keeper thereof under Duke Hamilton. Moreover, Major Generall Monro arrived by this time from Ireland, with 2000 foote, and went straight after the army to England.

And upon July 12, the Generall Assembly met at Edinburgh, and Mr George Gillespie was elected Moderator ; and it was expected that now, when there was an army in the fields, (to which they were bold to make so great opposition,) they would have walked more moderately ; yet never was an Assembly so high and arbitrary as this was.

Their first bout with the Committee of Estates was on this occasion : A Committee being nominate by the Assembly to revise the proceedings of the late Commission, on Moonday 17, were ready to make their report ; and in the meantime there came from the Committee of Estates, the Earl of Glencarne and Sir James Carmichael, Thesaurer Depute, and Archibald Sideserf, Bailly of Edinburgh, and desired that before the Assembly should proceed to approve the late Commission, till the Committee of Estates might first be heard : Some in the Assembly, that looked no farther than professions, expected there should have been a debate in earnest ; but the more intelligent sort of Royalists tooke it but for a flash, to hide the conclusions that was among the great ones on both sides.

However, the Assembly granted their desires, and so deferred the bussines till the next day, at ten o'clock ; against the which time they undertook to bring in a challenge ; and returning at that time on new pretexts, craved a further delay till four o'clock in the afternoon : which also being granted, without any debate in the least, they passed gallantly from their compearance : Which (though it surprised the younger sort, and those that were more simple,) was no more than what men who used to study their ways, looked for at their hands. So the Commission of the last Assembly was approved with triumph : and therefore a remonstrance was framed and emitted, against the army, proving the sinfulness and unlawfulness of the engagement. And that being done, a new Commission, consisting of the same persons, with litle alteration, was established for that year. And lest that Commission should not be able to reach all the Ministers whom they meant to depose, therefore, besides it, other Commissions were appointed, under the name of Visitations ; whereof one to depose the Presbyteries of Dumblane and Sterline, and another for the Presbyteries of Duns and Chirnside, and a third for Cathnesse and Orkney. And to make all sure, there was an act past in the Assembly, that if any Minister (whom they sentenced) should hereafter list, or receive any stipend or any part thereof, he should be for that high crime excommunicated. Lykeas, that these Visitations might not scruple to depose such as they intended to be rid of, (whatsoever their deservings or abilities were,) the Assembly set them a cobby, by silencing two Ministers of Edinburgh, viz. Mr Andrew Ramsay and Mr William Colvill, two who, for their eminency in learning and diligence in their charge and vocation, and for integrity and soundness of their conversation, were great ornaments to the Church of Scotland.

At the same time, likewise, the Assembly opened the mouth of one John Guillone to preach the Gospell, he being a poore ignorant plowman, whose greatest proficiency in learning was, that he could read English. And thereafter this Assembly arose, with much lesse applause than any that had formerly been knowen. Towards the end of July, Sir William Fleeming returned from the Prince, and having brought with him much ammunition, and other military furniture, for the army, the same, by the Committee's order, was carried to the castle, to be therein kept sure ; where they might not have it at command, if General Lesly had command of the House, who dissembled not his adherence to the other party. And again Sir William was dispatched and the Earl of Lauderdale, for inviting the Prince to come home to Scotland ; who then, with his small navy, lay at the Downes : And as soon as it came to be noised that Lauderdale was embarked, the Royalists called him an adventrous man, who would hazard to go to the Prince, who had been so active against the King ; and presuming that the Prince could not be ignorant, that, for the space of 24 years, he constantly resided at London, fomenting the combination betwixt the two Parliaments, and never returned till he left his King prisoner at Carisbrook Castle, and the vote of none addresses past against him. They pleased themselves with their conjectures, what would be the Prince's deportment towards him : But it was not long before certaine news came that the Prince made him very welcome, and used him with familiarity and respect enough, which put them to a stand. And by that time, advertisement was brought from the army at Aplebie, how there had been a skirmish with Lambert, and therein they had the advantage ; whereupon Lambert was retired towards the south, and the Scotts army following in towards Lancashire in and about the towne of Prestoun, their hove quarter ; but withall quartered so wide betwixt their van and their reare of their army, that the distance was no less than 38 miles ; and withall suffered not George Monro, with his men, to come up to the body of their army ;

but kept him still behind, to bring up the Scotts ordnance and artillery. But the Argilian faction, the Chancellor, Argile, Cassills, and Eglinton, were all that time bussied at home, and preparing their people to be in a posture against that time they should hear of their ruine, and rendering up of the Scotts army, of which they professed themselves openly not to doubt: And the certainty of their sticking in the west coming to be known by the Comittie of Estates at Edinburgh, they concluded a present levy of three regiments of horse for suppressing them; and designed the principall officers, (of whom the Earl Lanerk was commander in chief.) Such was the loyalty of the gentlemen whom they made Rotmasters, and the forwardness of the inferiour sort to doe the service, that these thrie regiments were soon in a readiness.

And in the mean season, Cromwell, by his good fortune, having quieted Wales, came up to Lambert; and on Thursday, August 13, both of them fell upon Sir Marmaduke Langdale and his regiments, who indeed did fight it very well, as long as their ammunition lasted: But in the end, were overpowered for want of men and ammunition, and have sent to the Duke for a supply, and to Callender for men; the same was refused, upon the pretext that it was but a skirmish, and that the heart of Langdale was so haughty that he meant to have the whole honour of the bussines. But the next morning, Cromwell being serious in his bussines, and Lambert with all their strength, in composed order, came upon the scattered Scottish army, and easily assaulted and vanquished such as appeared; for (as I said) the Scotts army never wan to any order of battell, being quartered so wide, and many of their officers distempered with yesternight surfetting, which, with other negligences, helped Cromwell to an easie victory: And it is likly the Duke, in governing his army, had used Argile's counsell; for General Major Bailly, at the first, rendered himself and 1000 foote prisoners: And many of the discomposed companies, loaden with wet cloaths and armes, and sticking in the myres as they stragled northward to Monro, were surprised and taken by the way. And for the horse, the Duke and Callender, with many other commanders, (except Middleton, who, with a small party, made the first appearance of any,) were taken on the place, and 3000 horses fled altogether in a body; and most of the rest also fled in several parties. And so many of them as went through, joyned themselves to Monro; who, being kept behind, and escaped the enemie's hands, returned to Carlile. And so, for want of government and discipline, all went to wrack; for soon thereafter the Duke himself, with other commanders without intermission, were taken, and with them a considerable body of horses were all taken prisoners: only Callender disguising himself, escaped and went over to Holland. And so that army, which was the greatest and best furnished that had been sent forth these many years preceeding, having been a year in preparing, was ruined in an instant; and all by an untrusty and unexperienced General: And, as some observing, men gave themselves to mark the carrying on of the bussines, since the first motion of the levy, expected no better to come of it.

Albeit it was deplored by all men of sound judgements and principles; yet in Scotland our Ministrie rejoiced, and all the Argilian faction, and the Westlanders began to start in armes: And first of all a number of lawless men drew themselves together, under Colonel Montgomery his son, who fell upon a troupe of Lanerk's new levied men, and killed some of them, and routed the rest.

The report hereof coming to the Comittie of Estates at Edinburgh, it was resolved to call forth a great part of the whole fencible men of the kingdom, for suppressing of that Westland insurrection; and for a trustie General to command them, much debate was in the Comittie. Craufurd Lindsay, the President thereof, proponed the Earl of Lanerk, (the wolf to keep the wedder,) and all the Hamiltonian faction, (excepting the Earl of Roxburgh,) were for him. But others opposed to their utmost, and inclyned to the Earl of Mershell; allwaies, it being put to the vote, the Earl of Lanerk, by plurality of votes, carried the employment. And he himself, being loath it should go by him, voted it to himself, which was not very ordinary. And he being made a General, all men expected that he was to have gone to the west country, for suppressing the insurrection there; which might easily have been done, there being as yet none in armes, excepting Eglinton's men, whom (as we said,) Colonel Montgomery commanded; and Lanerk had these three new levied regiments of horse, which had been up in armes before the discomfiture at Preston, besides many that joyned hourly to him. But instead thereof, he turned to East Lothian, and from thence to the south Border, professing it was to meet with Monro, and his forces, who were on their retreat homeward. But by Lanerk's turning south, all the Westlanders had a fair and peaceable opportunity of rysing in armes. So that the whole shires of Kyle, Coninghame, Clidsdale and Renfrew, Leshmahago and Evandale, joyned together to the number of 6000 men and upwards, and marched forward to Edinburgh, having upon their side Lowdon the Chancellor, and Eglinton; yea, Mr David Dick, and the rest of the Ministers in these parts. And the Earl of Cassills brought forth the Gallovidians and Carichtians, which gave a fair warning to the Argilian faction.

Among all that fomented that insurrection, there was none so generally to be abhorred as the Earl of Lowdon, the Chancellor, not only in regard of his ingratitude to the King, who in the year 1641 had raised him from the degree of a Baron to the title of an Earle, and preferring him to be high Chancellor, and further also gifted him with the yearly pension of 1000 lib. Sterling, and also the whole annuities throughout the kingdom; but much more for his horrid treachery against his Majestie, who having been at the yle of Wight a prime instrument in perswading him to refuse treating with the Parliament of England in the yle of Wight, and intiseing him to cast himself again upon the Scotts. Now when, by so doing, the King might be hopelesse of any favour from the English, he did then falsify the assurance given by him and the other Commissioners to his Majestie; and instead of assisting the army raised for his Majestie's delyverance, he did now when the same, by adverse fortune, was overthrown by a stranger's prevailing, make himself head of a lawless rabble and multitude, to cut off and destroy the broken remainder of it.

However, these Westlanders advanced towards Edinburgh, from whence went Sir James Lockhart of Lees, and the Laird of Humby, (two dependers on the Hamiltons, and on that account great Committee men,) to meet them, and to draw them on to a treaty, betwixt the new Generall and them. Lykeas when they drew near to the city, four of the Magistrates, and Ministers thereof, went and met them, and made them welcome, and conducted them to the town; where the Ports being cast open, they were received with joy. Whereupon the Earl of Craufurd and Glencarne, who till then had stayed at Haliroodhouse, waiting the returne of Lees and Humby, did remove, and go southward to the Generall. And by this time Monro and his army, and many more, (who having escaped the enemy, had joyned themselves to him in the Border,) was returned, and had joyned himself and his traine to Lanerk, and acknowledged him for their commander. At this same time also, Argile, who had levied the few people of his countrie, who were then alive, and to the fore, after their wracks by Montrose and M'Donald, he came forward, and by the way he wrote to the Gentry of the Lennox and the west end of Sterlineshire, to attend his rendezvous at Dumbartane on September 8: And when the day came, his number was so small as amounted scarce to 600 foote and 100 horse; whereof 300 were his own men, and the rest of the country people of Lennox and the west end of Sterlineshire, who joyned to him for saving the plundering of their goods. After his rendezvous, the Marques marched eastward on September 11, and quartered his men at Gargunnoch. In this meantime, came Sir Thomas Tweesly to the Border with 1000 horses; who, after the unfortunate overthrow, had kept together in a body, and craved to be admitted to joyn with Lanerk and Munro. This offer of 1000 English horses was no despicable service, if action had been honestly intended; yet Lanerk refused them, professing it would be a means to draw Cromwell into the heart of Scotland, which was broken by civill warres in itself; and so these English Gentlemen were rejected, and left to accept such quarters as Cromwell would be pleased to give them. And so Lanerk and George Monro came northward with their forces to Haddington, and from thence to Edinburgh: And the Chancellor and Eglinton, with their Westlanders, did face them on the Craigs by west the town; and it was said that George Monro would faine have foughten them, which if it had been so resolved by Lanerk and his Committee, might possibly have afforded him an easy victory; not only because their strength was considerable, being upward of 400 horse and as many foote, of well experienced souldiers; but also in regard, being inferiour in number, yet most part but raw and unexpert, taken from their husbandrie only to make a show, as also multitudes of them running home to wait on their harvest. But it was well that these old souldiers were an overparty; for if they had fallen into the hands of these Westlanders, it is likely they had gotten Philiphaugh quarters. But Lanerk, with Craufurd and Glencarne, would not let fight against their Westland friends, but instead thereof resolved to march west: And more to possess the town and bridge of Sterline, whereby they might make good that pass for sojors which they expected from the north; and so upon Monday September 11, they marched forward to Linlithgow: And in the meantime Cassils, with the men of Carrick and Galloway, (reckoned to be 800 horses,) had taken up their quarters in that town, that night; whereby in all likelihood they might have been surprisid, were it not some friends, and as the report went it was Craufurd Lindsay, sent them word to withdraw. Whereupon they, (leaving their suppers at the fire,) marched away to the Queensferry; and Lanerk's men coming to Linlithgow, fared the better that they had been before them. On the morrow, September 12, Argile and his men, (not dreaming of their intention to come thither,) entered in Sterline about one of the clock; the Marques put his men to severall postes, placed some at the Brigend, and the rest at the Barrackgate and the Burrowmill; thereafter he went in to the Tolbooth to keep a Committee with his officers, calling in the Magistrates to provide entertainment for his men. But having dispatched that affaire, went next to have dined with the Earl of Mar; but when the meate was setting on the table, the Marques was alarmed with the approach of Monro's army: Whereupon mounting his horse presently, and taking his way by Sterline bridge, fled with as high speed as if his enemies had been at his heeles, and looked never behind him till after eighteen miles ryding he reached the North Queensferry: And then possessing himself of a boate, now the fourth time, the poore men whom he left at Sterline bridge, being above 1000, were all cut off, which fell out in this manner, and on this occasion: While as George Monro was on his march, and within two miles of Sterline, hearing that the Marques had possessed that place, stayed not to consult with Lanerk and his Committee (who hapened to be behind with the foote army,) but in all haste made forward with a quicker pace than before, and getting intelligence that the Marques, when he drew near to the town, was on his flight by the bridge, rode quickly towards, hoping to have caught him; but long ere then he was gone: And the poor men who kepted the Ports being confounded by his withdrawing so sudden, that when Monro came upon them they were so confounded as they had so much judgment as to call for quarter; but instead thereof, (following their Lord's example, although not with the like fortune,) fled all on a sudden, and essayed to save their lives by their speed of feet; whereanent their hopes failed them, for Monro's horsemen soon overreached them, and cut them all in pieces, not one of them escaping; and such as to escape the slaughter, threw themselves into the river, and so were drowned. But the rest of the Marques's men had better fortune, who kepted their poasts at the Barracks and the Burrowmill: For Lanerk, Craufurd Lindsay, and Glencarne, with the foot army, entring the town that way, did before Monro's returning from the execution at the bridge, gave quarter to them all, whereby they all, (being about 500 men,) became prisoners, and were kepted the one half in the Tolbooth and the other half in the Kirk: And that same day the western army followed toward the west, and at night reached Falkirk; and with them David Lealy, Colonells Ker, Hepburn, and other sojors of fortune that now had joyned to them; besides additional helps they had got from divers of the Gentry of Fife, and many from the south, especially from the Earl of Buckcleugh and his friends of the name of Scot.

Morcover, Lanerk, Craufurd, and Glencarne, settled in Sterline, did presently convene their Committee, wherein they expressed

great grief for Argile's men, whom Monro had cut off: But he not knowing what they meant thereby, was so far from repenting, that instead thereof he proponed a new motion which vexed them afresh; and it was, that the next morning he might be allowed to march to Falkirk, to salute the Westland army, (which he thought very seasonable,) as indeed it was; but they abhorred it. But lest he should make bold without their allowance to do it, they prevented him of the same, by causing all the horse to cross Sterline bridge, and quarter on the north side of Forth from Down to Burntisland, where betwixt their van and rear were twenty-eight miles: Yet in this wide quartering so were they parted by their Generall Lanerk, and their Comittie's order, that a far greater burden was put upon the Lordship of Alloway than any other place; for there remained for seventeen days, Robert Leslie's regiment, together with another belonging to George Monro's command, and these utterly destroyed the cornes and bestiall of that Lordship.

The loyalty of the house of Mar procured to themselves that complement, even from those who professed themselves to be acting for the King; beside many such sad strokes they had endured before from the other party: And this was by all esteemed the more absurd, in regard that, in the meantime, the Lord Erskin was actually employed in their service, levying his men in Mar and in the Garioch for their aide and assistance. But the next day discovered them, so as neither that nor any other of their former actings were much wondered at. This was interpreted to be the fruits of Lee's and Humby's address to the western army, when at first they were on their march to Edinburgh, for whereas it was expected that something should have been attempted, instead whereof all their bussines was to nominate commissioners to treat for an accomodation: And so when Lanerk and his Comittie resolved to retire to Sterline, they professed it was to make good that pass for the forces they expected from the north: Yet now people conceived the genuine reason to be, that they being in Sterline, and the other in Falkirk, they might have commodious opportunity of treating; and therefore that being the thing which they projected, none thought it strange that they had declined fighting beside Edinburgh, as also that they were dissatisfied with Monro's work at the bridge, and would by no way nor means be consenting that he return the next day to salute their Westland friends. And so upon Wednesday, September 13, they commisionate to repair to Woodside, for treating, Craufurd Lindsay and Glencarne, with the two Colonells, viz. Hamilton and Innerweek, and Lievtennent Colonell Hume,—Monro opposed it. But neverthesse it was carried by plurality of votes in the Comittie; and so laying aside all rancour, went away at 11 o'clock: Yet none appeared that day from the western army at Woodside; and the reason of it was talked to be, that Argile having come up to them of Monro's acting at Sterline bridge, and they not knowing but that Lanerk and the other Lords, (with whom they were under tearmes of a treaty,) might have been accessory to it, esteemed it such a breach, that they could not all treat with them untill that they cleanse themselves thereanent. Whereupon the treaters sent from Woodside a message to them, whereby to vindicate themselves anent that emergent, and desired that to-morrow they might send some of their number thither; and for that night returned to Sterline. On the next day, being the 14, they went again to Woodside, and sent from the army to treat with them the Earl of Cassils, Sir Archibald Jonston, Mr Robert Barclay, Burges of Irwine, and four Ministers, viz. Mr Robert Dowglas, Mr Robert Blair, Mr James Guthry, and Mr James Nasmyth; and they continued altogether that night at the Woodside, and on the next day, September 15, they concluded a treaty on the very termes; the Hamiltonians referring all matters civill to a Parliment (which was not to be called till January 10,) and all matters ecclesiasticall to an Assembly, accepted the assurance that the other party should not harme them, nor any that adhered to them. And at that time, on their termes, both their armies, with all their garisons in the kingdom, to be disbanded against the 29th day of that month, or at farthest before October 5, and all prisoners which had been taken at home to be enlarged; but nothing at all mentioned anent prisoners taken in England: Yea, not concerning the King himself, then close prisoner in the yle of Wight. But Craufurd and Glencarne, with the two Colonells, having at their return to Sterline shewn and declared to Lanerk and his Comittie the successe and close of the treaty, Monro was so highly displeased, that, could he have gotten assisting, he minded to have without the Lords toleration kepted up armes. But therein they prevented him, in such sort, that when he attempted the officers of the army anent it, he could find no adherents, Colonell Dalyell and Captain James Galbraith excepted, who were willing to have taken their hazard with him: All the rest whom he had brought from Ireland flinched from him, and so he is forced to submit.

Thus the treatie held good; and according thereto, on September 20, Argile's men, who had been their prisoners at Sterline, were dimitted; Makcondory and Inneraw came and took them away. And the 29, the army at Sterline disbanded, without offering any wrong to the town; but with fearfull exclamations against the Hamiltons, by whose treacherous actings, King and kingdoms, armies and country, were sold to their enemies. Moreover, at his going off he had intelligence from Ireland, that Glencarne's regiment in Craigfergus had betrayed the garrison to Colonell Monck; whereupon at St Ninian's Kirk he made a speech to his souldiers relative to his intelligence, and thereafter permitted to disband such as were willing; and for the rest that adhered to him, he offered to lead them over to Ireland, to try what fortune they could make there. But being come the length of Glasgow, he learned soon there more fully that all was lost to the Scotts in Ireland, and old Monro sent prisoner to London; whereupon he disbanded all the rest, and himself returned as a private man to Edinburgh, from whence shortly thereafter he stepped over to Ireland; where within few years he wan much wealth and honour. The Westland army was also disbanded, according to the treaty, at the appointed day, and went home to reap their cornes. But Argile, the Chancellor, Eglinton, and Cassils and others, returned to Edinburgh, and there sate them down under the notion of a Comittie of Estates: Which the better doe, because Duke Hamilton in the late Parliment had nominate them as members of the Comittie, notwithstanding they did then by

their dissentings and protestations, oppose the whole proceedings of the Parliament. And the new Parliament left nothing undone to establish the power in their hands, and ordained a Parliament to be convoked on January 4 : And by this time Cromwell and Lambert marched northward, to suppress Sir Thomas Tweesly, and such other English as were in armes ; and that being done, they advanced towards the Scotts border, for the regaining of Carlile and Berwick to their government ; and they kept their hove quarter at Mordingtoun. Whereupon Argile, joyt all of the newes, and ane hearty lover of the prosperity of all that loved the extinction of monarchy, (knowing that all were friends there who swayed any power,) and with him, the Lord Erskine, went thither to salute them ; and the complement being passed, the Marques caused in the Comittie's name, Lodowick Lesly to deliver up the town of Berwick to them ; and for the regiment of the Scotts which he brought out with them, he bestowed it on Hepburne, to be transported to Sterline, wherf he was made Governor.

Thereafter the Marques conducted Cromwell and Lambert, with their armies, to Edinburgh, where themselves kept their hove quarter in the Lady Hume's house in the Canongate. Upon their appearing in the town, the Comittie of Estates adjourned till their removeall again. And also there was a proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh, commanding all that had been upon the engagement to depart the city within twenty-four houres. Whereupon Craufurd Lindsay retired to Fife, and Glencarne was already at his own home in the west country : Lanerk, after some days abroad at Kinnoyle, (which was for dispatching John Mowbray with letters to the Prince,) went towards home, and there remained untill Argile had leisure to returne home ; after which, passing the river Clyde quietly, the Marques from Rosneth met him at Cardrosse, and there they conferred together at length.

This was not so privatly done, but the rumour of it spread soon out through the land ere they themselves returned to Edinburgh, which was even as soon as they could. And while Cromwell remained in the Canongate, those that haunted him most were, (besides Argile,) Lowdon the Chancellor, the Lord Arbuthnet, the Lords Elcho and Burleigh ; and of Ministers, Mr David Dick, Mr Robert Blair, and Mr James Guthrie : And whatsoever passed among them came to be infallibly known ; and it was lowdly talkd that he communicated to them his designe, in reference to the King, and had (no question) their assent thereto.

But his removeall was the more hastened, by reason of an advertismnt he had received of a treaty begun betwixt the King and the Parliament in his absence. Whereupon, having caused the Comittie-men write to Sir William Levinston, Governor of Carlile, to render up the same to his delegates, (which was obeyed accordingly,) he left Lambert, with a party be him, to stay for a time untill the Argilian faction were fully stated in their power, and thereafter to follow after him. And immediately he and his army marched away, that he might be there in time to crush the treaty, before it came any more length ; yet did he not depart untill he had appointed some of his friends, Ministers and others, here, to be sent up after him, to be concurring against the King upon the account of this nation. So Mr Robert Blair and Sir John Cheesly were presently dispatched away, (who went under the colour of Church-men ;) and for other Commissioners they could not be sent, untill the Comittie of Estates should convene to elect them.

Shortly thereafter, Lambert translated his quarters to Seaton, and thereafter, (by allowance of Argile, and the rest of his friends here,) he returned to England. But in November, came to Sterline that Commission which the Assembly had appointed for deposing the Prebiteries of Sterline and Dumblane for their malignancy ; and they thrust out Mr Henry Guthrie and Mr John Albane, Ministers of Sterline ; with two of the other Presbyterie of Dumblane, viz. Mr Henry Shaw and Mr Andrew Jeffray ; and for the rest of both Presbiteries, they spared them at that time, untill they should have a further allowance, from the next Generall Assembly, for what they had already done. But returning thereafter, they made a fearfull massacre among them. And by that time came there letters from Sir John Cheesly and Mr Robert Blair, shewing that the treaty went on, and therefore it should be wished that more Commissioners should be sent up in haste ; whereupon the Comittie of Estates assembled upon the 28th of November, being Thursday, and then they elected, to go up and joyn with Cheesly and Blair, the Earl of Lothian, and William Glendonyng, Burges of Kildabright. And when Royalists throughout the land heard it told for certaine that these were the men, then began they to pray, God save the King ! And shortly after their arriveall, Cromwell began to shew himself downright for crushing the treaty, and drew up his army toward London, and sent in a remonstrance to the Parliament, shewing his dislike and disallowing of the treaty ; and craving justice (as he called it) to be done upon the King, the Prince, and the Duke of York ; which two last he urged to be summoned in before the Parliament at a certaine day, and heare and sie themselves declared incapable of any place of command, government, or trust, within England. Notwithstanding whereof, on December 5, the Parliament concluded two votes ; and first, that the Parliament had no hand in taking the King from Hampton Court, to be imprisoned in the yle of Wight. And secondly, that the King's concessions in that treaty were grounds and sufficient assurance of a solide peace. And now in all the House there were only but 48 dissenters and repugnant votes, who not the lesse carried the matter as follows hereafter : Whercof Cromwell being advertissd by these dissenters, (whereof the most part were or else called themselves Independants and Levellers, or were really Jesuite Papists,) he presently brought his army to Westminster, assaulted the Parliament without and within with horride outrages, incarcerated such members as he could apprehend, and the rest escaped by flight ; and then there were none left to make up the Parliament excepting these 48 dissenters, and Cromwell and his army, January 6.

Thereafter Cromwell sent Colonell Ewer to bring the King from the yle of Wight to Hurstcastle, from whence he was

brought by Colonell Winchester and Colonell Farnhame to Windsore, (wherein Duke Hamilton was close prisoner for the time,) and from thence to St James's, in order to his tryall.

The Parliament of Scotland sate down at Edinburgh January 4 : Commissioners from burghs and shires conveyed frequently ; for albeit the most part in generall were cordially for the King, yet there wanted in every place sycophants anew, who were ready to catch employment, and blow up the embers. But of all the Scottish Nobility, there were only 14 present at the Parliament, viz. the Chancellor, Argyle, Suderland, Cassils, Eglinton, Buckcleugh, Dalhousie, and Levin : And of Lords, Arbuthnet, Balmorino, Cowper and Burleigh, Torphican, and Cardross.

Hereby the weakness of the Argilian faction came first to be perfectly understood, which caused the greater outcry to be made against those who at that time having a puissant army at command, did submit unto these at Sterline. The Parliament kept a fast on January 10 ; at which time Mr Robert Dowglas and Mr James Guthry preached to them, and had the thanks of the House given them. Their purpose tended to purge the judicatories ; and therefore the next day it was appointed, that a Comittie of the Parliament-men should sit with the Commissioners of the Church to consider thereupon ; and the result thereof was, that malignants were ordered in four ranks or degrees : The first, secluded from all place and office for all their lifetime ; the second, for ten years ; the third, for five years ; and the fourth, untill the next Session of the Parliament.

Whereupon followed the cashiering of so many of the Lords of the Session, as were tainted with the crime of loyalty ; and in their roomes were set up such as were furious asserters of their way, viz. Sennick and Brody, Sir James Hope, Mr Alexander Pearson, Mr George Windram, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Robert M'Gill, and Sir William Scot, formerly one of the Clerks of the House. In the meantime these sweet Ministers at London did write down to the Parliament, how the King, being prisoner at St James's, that they were so far advanced against him, that a Comittie was already appointed, (whereof twenty to make a quorum,) to proceed in his tryall to the Commissioners, dated January 2, and to endure till February 2 ; by which time it was expected he would be dispatched : And therefore desired further instructions how they should behave themselves in the business. The Parliament compiled and drew up divers instructions, which were sent them ; among which there were two most materiall, and home to the point : That they should not debate the question, whether they might take the King's life or not ? but only labour for a delay : And the other was, that they should in no case speak or doe any thing which might be the occasion of a nationall quarrell.

And the next advertisement concerned his Majesty's arraignment, and how being brought severall times from St James's to appear before the Comittie in the painted chamber at Westminster, where he still did except against and wholly declined the authority of the Court. Nevertheless, upon Saturday, January 27, he was by them sentenced to be on Tuesday, January 30, beheaded before the gate at Whytehall : Which was accordingly done.

But before his bringing forth, we have thought fit to leave a true relation of two speciall emergents worthy to be recorded as a reall part of this history ; whereof the first fell out thus : Two of his royall children, viz. Henry Duke of Gloucester and the Lady Elizabeth, (the other two being in exile in France,) coming to him in his prison that day he was sentenced, and getting access by favour of Colonell Thomlinson, who (under Colonell Hacker had command of the guard that guarded the prison,) that they might bid farewell to their dearest father, and implore his blessing (which was all the patrimony and legacie which now he could leave them ;) first he commanded the Lady Elizabeth that she should remember to shew to her brother James, whensoever she should see him, that it was his father's last desire to him, that he should looke upon Charles his elder brother, not as elder brother only, but that in all time hereafter he should love and obey him as his Sovereine Prince : And that allwayes they should love one another ; that they should forgive their father's enemies : and, moreover, he said to the Lady, " O my dear daughter, doe not at all forget these things !" Who replied, " I shall never forget them : " And pouring forth great abundance of tears, she promised to write them in parchment. Then the King taking his younger son, (who was styled Duke of Gloucester,) upon his knees : " Now, my sweete childe, (said he,) they are going to cut off thy father's head," upon which words the child, (looking stedfastly upon his father,) " take heed," (said he to the childe,) " what we are saying ; they will take off my head, and it may be they would make thee a King ; but observe, my childe, what we are saying ; thou ought not to be King as long as thy brothers' Charles and James are alive ; for they are intending to take away thy brothers' heads as soon as they can catch them : And at length, O childe, they will take away thy head also ; and therefore we forbid thee to be made a King by them." To which the boy, sighing, replied, " I shall be torne in peeces first." Which words, from so young a childe, wonderfullly rejoiced the King.

The other emergent, which was six hours before his bringing forth to the scaffold, (as we have said,) befell on this manner : The prison doore, (within which the King was) not being locked, out of a band of souldiers six men broke in upon the King, and with most barbarous inhumanity buffeted him and spate upon his face : And while they are thus abusing him, and triumphing over him, comes in Colonell Thomlinson ; to whom he complained to him, that, being a condemned man, he could not have the freedom, (which used not to be denied to any man who was to suffer death,) to meditate and prepare himself for his last fatal stroke ; and as the King was repeating these words of his complaint, Colonell Thomlinson drew out his sword, and of the six he wounded four, the other two escaping by speed of foote ; and while the Colonell perused them out of the doores, the King cried out unto him, desiring him to be with him within half an hour ; for he had something to shew him : To which Thomlinson answered, Sir, I will not be deficient to you.

The King, in the meantime, having the opportunity of paper and ink in the chamber, fell upon writing; and having written seven lines and an half, and superscribed it, he called aloud for Thomlinson, and gave him the paper; telling him, that the blood of a King uses not to be drawn, but at length it calls for a loud revenge upon the actors: Keep, therefore, that paper, as long as ye shall be spared from punishment: it will be but a light burden to you. It may some time doe you good, and it can doe you no hurt: Which propheticall expression came to be verified within eleven years afterward, (as you shall heare,) at which time the most part of that bloody court being called to suffer for their crimes and cruelty, (among whom Hacker, the prime commander of that party that guarded the prison, and after him Colonell Thomlinson, Hacker's deputy,) was brought upon the scaffold, to suffer as he had done before him; who looking over the railles of the scaffold, called aloud upon Colonell Hughson, (their present commander of that party that guarded the scaffold,) who demanding what he had to say to him? He required him in his Majestie's name, to signify to his royall Majestie, that he who was to suffer death had a bussines of speciaall concerne to reveall to his Majestie: Who not daring to refuse, went to the King, and brought him directly under the railles of the scaffold; to whom Thomlinson, from his letter case, let fall the forementioned paper, containing an absolute pardon, which he commanded his royall son to ratify, for the good service which Thomlinson had performed to him immediately before his martyrdom.

Which no sooner had the King looked upon, but knowing perfectly his father's hand and superscription, but the teares began immediately to trickle down upon his black beard; and extending his voice aloud, he called, "Come down, Thomlinson, and be not affrayed; for instead of death, you shall have a place in our family as long as we are both living;" which place he enjoyed twenty-seven years, till he was taken away by naturall death.—But to return to his Majestie's martyrdom, the which being accomplished, his faithfull cousen James Duke of Lennox, had the permission to have his body transported to Windsore, where it was interred.

So ended the best of Princes; being cut off by the midst of his days, by the barbarous and cruell hands of unnaturall subjects. In contemplation thereof, many sad and lamentable epitaphs were made: But that of the most valiant, heroick, and illustrious the Marques of Montrose, (who soon thereafter suffered for his Royall Master's sake,) esteemed so like the author, that above all others it best deserves here to be inserted. Which in English is thus:

Great, good, and just, could I but rate
My grieffe, and thy too rigide fate;
I'd weep the world to such a straine,
As it should once deludge againe.

But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies
More from Briareus' hands than Argos' eyes:
I'll sing thine obsequies with trumpets sounds,
And write thine epitaphs with blood and wounds.

Translated and versified in Latine, thus:

*Fata si possem, Bone, magne, Juste,
Lachrimis justis tua dira flere,
Et mei tristes animi dolores*

Fundere terris.

*Denuo damæ pavidæ natarent
Montibus summis, pecus omne Protei
Iret in visum nemorum recessus*

Gurgite tectos.

*Vox tibi furi ac Superis cruoris,
Vindictis clamat Briarei lacertos
Æstimat sentem nihili vel Argon*

Sanguis inultus.

*Buccinis clangam exequias canoris
Nænas fundam galæa detorus
Fnsibus Scribam in tumulo cruentos*

Vulnera versus.

FINIS.

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Books connected with, or illustrative of, the History, Antiquities, Literature, and Laws of Scotland.

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Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatum quæ in Publicis Archivis Scotiæ adhuc servantur Abbreviatio, 3 vols. folio.
“The record, of which an Abridgment is here given, comprehends all those proceedings by ‘Inquest,’ or the verdict of an ‘Assize,’ which originate in certain writs issuing from Chancery, and which are ultimately transmitted, or ‘retoured’ to that office.”
The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vols. 2 to 11, ten vols. folio, with engraved specimens of Records.*
Vol. 1. not yet published, will contain the Statutes prior to James I. Vol. 2. contains the Acts passed during the reigns of James I. II. III. IV. V. and Mary, 1424 to 1567. Vol. 3. James VI. 1567—1592, with Appendices, containing the Acts of the Estates of the Kingdom. Vol. 4. James VI. 1593—1625, id. Vol. 5. Charles I. 1625—1641, id. Vol. 6. Charles I. & II. 1643—1651, id. Vol. 7. 1661—1669. Vol. 8. 1670—1686. Vol. 9. 1689—1696. Vol. 10. 1696—1701. Vol. 11. 1702—1707.
The unrivalled elegance and accuracy of this, the only genuine and perfect edition of the Public Records of Scotland, reflect the highest honour on the Compiler, and are worthy of the auspices under which the work has been carried on.
Regiam Majestatem, the Auld Lawes and Constitutions of Scotland, fra the dayes of King Malcolme the Second, vntill the time of King James the First, by Sir John Skene, 4to. *Edin. 1774*
Scotland's Sovereignty asserted, being a dispute concerning Homage against those who maintain that Scotland is a Feu or Fee-liege of England, translated by Kidpath, from a MS. of Sir Thomas Craig, 8vo. *Lond. 1695*
Forduni Scotichronicon, cum Supplementis et continuatione W. Boweri, cura W. Goodall, 2 vols. folio. *Edin. 1759*
The first five books were completed by Fordun, and bring down the Chronicle to the death of David I. MSS. illustrative of the reign of Robert Bruce were left by him, which were arranged, amplified, and continued by Bower to the death of James I.
Lesalæus de Origine Moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum, 4to. *Romæ, 1578. Reprint.*
The Bishop of Ross in this work gives a summary topographical description of Scotland, and its history to the 20th year of Mary, with portraits and genealogical lists.
Finkerton's Enquiry into the History of Scotland, preceding the Reign of Malcolm III. (1056), 2 vols. 8vo. *Lond. 1789*
The History of the Celts and Picts, occupies the first volume. In the 2d are contained the History of the Dalriads and their union with the Picts; with a supplement on the Angles and Norwegians, and a dissertation on the origin and progress of the Scythians or Goths.
Collections concerning the Scottish History preceding the death of David I. (1153), by Sir James Dalrymple, 8vo. *Edin. 1705*
The subject of the settlement of the Scots in Britain occupies the two first chapters; in the 3d is a confirmation of ancient Scottish history, from Bede and others; in the 4th and 5th, the establishment of Christianity there; and in the four last, the civil and ecclesiastical history from 731 to 1153, with an Appendix of papers.

Donore.
His Majesty.

Mr Jarvie.

Mr Pinkerton.

Earl of Kinnoull.

* One of these, a fac-simile of one of the Acts of Mary's Parliament, is framed, and suspended in the Hall.

Donors.
Mr Gillics.

- History of the Picts, by Maule of Melgum, 18mo. wants title.
Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ, sive rerum gestarum inter Nationes Britannicarum Insularum et gentes Septentrionales, 4to. *Hannæ, 1786*
 Compiled from Snorro, Land-nama-boc, Niala-saga, &c. and accompanied with a Latin translation by the Rev. James Johnstone of Maghera-cross, while Chaplain to his Britannic Majesty's Envoy at the Court of Denmark, by whom the two following were also edited.
- Antiquitates Celto-Normannicæ*, containing the Chronicle of Man and the Isles, with extracts from the Annals of Ulster, &c. and Catalogues of the Pictish and Scottish Kings, by the Rev. J. Johnstone, 4to. *ib. 1786*
- The Norwegian account of Haco's Expedition against Scotland, A. D. 1263, now first published from the Flateyan and Frisian MSS. with an English Version and Notes, by Johnstone, 8vo. *ib. 1782*
- The Historie of Scotlände, conteyning the beginning, increase, &c. to 1571, by R. H. (Ralph Hollinshed) folio. *Black Letter.* 1577
- Caledonia, or an account Historic and Topographic of North Britain, by Geo. Chalmers, 2 vols. 4to. 1807—10
- The History of Scotland during the Roman, Pictish, Scottish and Scoto-Saxon periods, from A. D. 80 to 1306, will be found in the first volume.
- Earl of Kinnoull. *Britannia*, by Camden, edited by Gibson, folio. *Lond. 1695*
 The introduction contains an account of Scotland under the Romans, Picts, and Saxons, and a description of Scotland and the Isles, with a Map, will be found at page 886.
- Du Chesne. *Histoire d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, et d'Irlande*, folio. *Paris, 1641*
 A description of Scotland is introduced in Book I.—notice of the Britons in Book II.—and of the Picts in Book III.
- Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum*, tom. I. folio. *Oxon. 1684*
 Along with "Historia Ingulphi," "Annales Monasterii Burtonensis," &c. this volume contains "Chronica de Mailros inchoata per Abbatem de Dundrainand ab 733 continuata per varios ad A. D. 1270." "Quæ licet plerumque breviuscula sint, multa tamen exhibent scitu non injucunda, precipue Scotorum Regum seriem, ut et aliorum in borealibus istis oris Principum, Procorum, Episcorum, Abbatum denique successiones."
- Historical Account of the Antient Culdees of Iona, by Dr John Jamieson, 4to. *Edin. 1811*
 The Doctor in this work not only enters largely into the nature of the doctrine and worship of the Culdees, and of their establishment at Iona, but gives a copious account of their settlements elsewhere throughout Scotland, England, and Ireland.
- H. Cockburn, Esq. *Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitæ*, 4to. *Edin. 1825.*
 Printed by H. Cockburn and Thomas Maitland, Esqrs. and presented by them to the Bannatyne Club.
- Geo. Smythe, Esq. *Vitæ Dunkeldensis Ecclesiæ Episcoporum a prima sedis Fundatione ad an. 1515, ab Alex. Myln*, 4to. *Edin. 1823*
 Printed by the Bannatyne Club.
- Galic Antiquities, containing a History of the Druids, &c. by J. Smith, 4to. *ib. 1780*
- Col. Vallancey. *Essay towards illustrating the Ancient History of the Britanic Isles*, by C. V. 8vo. *Lond. 1786*
 In this tract Colonel Vallancey endeavours to establish a close connection between the Erse or Irish language, and the languages of the East.
- R. Scott, Esq. *The Border History of England and Scotland, deduced from the earliest times to the Union*, by Ridpath, 4to. *Lond. 1776*
- Mr Gillics. *Dissertation on certain memorable occurrences in the History of Scotland, read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 4to. *Glasg. 1785*
 By Lord Hailes.
- Historical Memorials concerning the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, from the earliest accounts to the Reformation*, 4to. *Edin. 1769.*
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- Dissertation concerning the Competition for the Crown of Scotland betwixt Lord Robert Bruce and Lord John Baliol, in 1291, wherein it was proved that the right of Bruce was preferable to Baliol*, by Ruddiman, 8vo. *Edin. 1748*
- Genealogical History of the royal and illustrious Family of the Stewarts, from 1034 to 1710*, by Crawford, folio. *ib. 1710*

Donors.

- The Genealogy of the Stewarts Refuted**, 8vo. *Edin.* 1710
A confutation of the "Genealogy of the Stewarts, by Andrew Stewart, Esq." supposed to be written by H. Stewart, Esq. of Allanton.
- History of Scotland from the Accession of the House of Stuart to that of Mary**, by John Pinkerton, 2 vols. 4to. *Lond.* 1797
- Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland**, containing original Papers, and reprint of scarce pieces, revised and published by James Anderson, 4 vols. 4to bound in 2. *Edin.* 1727
- Mary Queen of Scots Vindicated**, by John Whitaker, 3 vols. with the additional volume published in 1789, in all, 4 vols. 8vo. *Lond.* 1788—9 **Mr Whitaker.**
- Collections relative to the Funeral of Mary Queen of Scots**, 8vo. *Edin.* 1822 **Rob. Pitcairn, Esq.**
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- Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland relative to the Revolution in 1567**, by Crawford, 12mo. *ib.* 1767
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- History of the Reformatioun of Religioun in Scotland**, with the Life of John Knoxe the Author, folio. *Edin.* 1732
This edition, the best hitherto published, was taken from the original MS. in the University Library of Glasgow, and compared with other copies by Mr Mathew Crawford. A portrait of Knox is given, and the Tract by him, called, "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women."
- History of Britain**, during the Reign of James I. by Wilson, folio, portrait. *Lond.* 1633
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Edited by Lord Hailes, and comprehending chiefly letters to and from public characters in Scotland.
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In which is given an account of the civil wars in Scotland, from 1625 to 1652.
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- Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain**, in the Reign of Charles I. published from the originals, 8vo. *Glasg.* 1766
Edited by Lord Hailes, and principally Scottish.
- A Large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland**, together with a particular deduction of the seditious practices of the Prime Leaders of the Covenanters, by the King, folio. *Lond.* 1639
The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland (1580,) and other publications, are herein imbodied. The portrait of Charles is one of the best of that period.
- History of Independency**, the three first Parts. *Lond.* 1648—51
This copious History, by Walker, of the Commonwealth, contains "Relations and Observations upon the Parliament 1640—the mystery of the two juntos, Presbyterian and Independent—the proceedings of the Independent Faction in Scotland, and the High Court of Justice or Cromwell's Slaughter-house," with the plate of the Royal Oak.
- A Directory for the Publicke Worship of God throughout Scotland, England, and Ireland**, 4to. *Edin.* 1645
Original edition of the Directory for uniformity of Worship, proposed to but rejected by Charles, and still recognised by the Church of Scotland.
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- Collection of Letters and Declarations sent by General Monck to the Officers in the Army**, 4to. *Lond.* 1660
Many of these are dated from Scotland.
- Histoire des Troubles de la Grand-Bretagne contenant cequi s'est passé depuis l'année 1649**, par M. Robert Montet de Salmonet, folio, 2 tom. en un, port. *Paris*, 1661 **Mr M'Gregor, Perth Academy.**
Montet, being a Scotchman, dwells particularly on the affairs of North Britain at this period. There is appended to his work, "Relation des Veritables Causes et conjonctures favorables qui ont contribue au restablissement du Roy de la Grand Bretagne."—par Riordan de Muscry, 1661.

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- History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, by David Hume of Godscroft, folio. *Edin.* 1644
- History of several Honourable Families of the Right Honourable Name of Scot, by Captain Walter Scot. *Edin.* 1776
- Pinkerton. Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum qui habetaverunt in ea parte Britanniae nunc vocata Scotia vel in ejus Insulis, 8vo. *Lond.* 1789
- Contenta. Vitæ Niniani ab Ailredo, Columbæ a Cumino, ejusdem ab Adomnana, Kentegerni a Jocelmo, Margarete a Theodorico, ejusdem ex Surio, Magni ab anonymo.—Eulogium Davidis ab Ailredo. Vita Blaithmaci. Notitia Actorum Bollandi.
- Vita di Santa Margherita Regina di Scozia Raccolta di diversi Autori e data in luce dal P. Guglielmo Luigi Lesleo, 12mo. *in Roma,* 1675
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- History of the Lives of the Protestant Reformers in Scotland, by the Rev. James Scott, royal 8vo. *Edin.* 1810
- Account of the Life, Writings, and Inventions of James Napier of Merchiston, by the Earl of Buchan, and Dr Minto, 4to, portrait. *Perth,* 1787
- Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchannan, by David Irving, 8vo. *Edin.* 1807
- Life of Thomas Ruddiman, and Anecdotes of Buchannan, by George Chalmers, 8vo. port. *Lond.* 1794
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- Nature and Descent of Ancient Peerages connected with the State of Scotland, the Origin of Tenures, the Succession of Fiefs, and the Constitution of Parliament in that Country, addressed to Earl Mansfield, by G. Wallace, 8vo. *Edin.* 1785
- Account of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by Smellie, 4to.
- Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. 1, 4to. plates. *Edin.* 1792
- Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. 2. part 1. 4to. *ib.* 1818
- The contents of these volumes relate almost exclusively to the History and Antiquities of Scotland. In the 2d vol. are some papers on subjects connected with Perthshire.
- Numismata Scotiæ, or a Series of the Scottish Coinage from William the Lion to the Union, by Adam de Cardonnel, 4to. *Edin.* 1786
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- Flores Legum et Brocartica Juris. Mr Gillies.
This little volume is without date, but obviously a specimen of very early printing and binding, as it is still in the original cover, though much decayed. The printer's name seems to have been Denis Rosse, which is subjoined to a curious cut on the title-page of Medea and Jason. The donor, in presenting it to the Society, said, he had good authority for believing it to have been the property of John Lessley, Bishop of Ross.
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- La France Metallique contenant les Actions Celebres tant publiques que privees de Rois et Reynes remarques en leurs Medailles d'Or, Argent et Bronze, par Jacq. de Bie, folio. - *Paris, 1636*
- De Thou. Histoire Universelle depuis M.D.XLIII. Jusqu'en M.DC.X. II tomes, 4to. demi. rel. Earl of Kinnoull.
La Haye, 1740
- Al Koran. Capt. Jas. Ross.
The Koran of Mohammed, in one small volume, beautifully written and illuminated.
- The Koran, in a roll twelve feet in length, which when rolled up, goes into less bulk than two cubic inches. (It is most exquisitely written and illuminated). G. Mercer, Esq. of Gorthy.
- Chinese Almanack. Mr Gillies.
A curious specimen of Chinese printing. This volume is about the size of an octavo, of moderate thickness, copiously supplied with hieroglyphics and cuts of very rude execution.
- Vorrillon Opera super quatuor libros Sententiarum, folio, black letter. - *Lugduni, 1489* Rev. W. Orme.
- Joannes de Sancto Laurentio super Evangeliiis Apost. folio, black letter. - *Bruz. 1480* Rev. W. Orme.
- Chinese Bible, twenty-one volumes, by Morrison and Milne, from the London Missionary Society. 1823 Rev. Dr. Morrison.
- Martyn's Hindostanee New Testament, 8vo. - - - *Scrampore, 1814* Dr John Ogilvie.

English.

- Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, 4 vols. 4to. - - - *Oxford, 1766* Earl of Kinnoull.
- Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ. The Posthumous Works of Sir Henry Spelman, relating to the Laws and Antiquities of England, folio. - - - *ib. 1698*
- Spelmanni Glossarium Archæologicum continens Latino-Barbara, Peregrina, Obsoleta et Novatæ Significationis Vocabula; Scholiis et Commentariis illustrata, folio, *fine portrait.* - *Lond. 1687*
- In quibus præci Ritus quam-plurimi, Magistratus, Dignitates, Munera, Officia, Mores, Leges ipsa et Consuetudines enarrantur.
- The History of the Destruction of the Brittaines, written A.D. 546, by Gildas Sapiens in an Epistolary way, 18mo. - - - *1641*
- Gildas, surnamed the Wise, is the only British Author of the 6th century, whose works are printed.

Donors.

- Neither the original nor the translation lay any claim to elegance, but they, and the following work, are interesting from their antiquity, and from the pre-eminent station their authors held among the learned of the 6th and 7th centuries.
- Bedæ (Venerabilis,) *Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ Gentis Anglorum*, lib. 5, 18mo. - *Colon. Ag.* 1601
- Mr Jas. Morison, Bookseller, Catalogue of the Bishops of England since the first planting of the Christian Religion in this Island, by F. G. (Francis Godwin,) 4to. - *Lond.* 1601
- The Chronicles of England, unto the reign of Edward VI. by Raphaell Hollinshed, 2 vols. folio, black letter. - *Lond.* 1577
- Earl of Kinnoull. Speed's *Historie of Great Britaine unto the raigne of King James of famous Memorie*, folio, *many cuts.* *Lond.* 1632
- Camden's *Britannia, Du Chesne, and others.* See *Scottish History supra.*
- Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum veterum*, tom. 1. In qua continentur, Ingulfi Croylandensis *Historia Petri Blessensis Continuatio. Chronica de Mailros. Annales Burtonensis. Historiæ Croylandensis Continuatio.*
- Earl of Kinnoull. Echard's *History of England from the entrance of Julius Cæsar to the end of the reign of James I.* folio. *Lond.* 1707
- Earl of Kinnoull. *Complete History of England from the earliest accounts to the death of King William III.* 3 vols. folio, *many very fine portraits and plates.* - *ib.* 1706
- This valuable work was compiled, by connecting the writings of authors on insulated portions of British History. Thus, from the earliest periods to the Conquest, by John Milton. From the Conquest to end of Edward III. Daniel. Reigns of Richard II. Henry IV. V. VI. in Daniel's method. Edward IV. John Habington. Edward V. Richard III. Trans. from Sir T. Moore. Richard III. George Buck. Henry VII. Lord Bacon. Henry VIII. Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Edward VI. Sir John Hayward. Mary, translated from Bishop Godwin. Elizabeth, Camden. James I. Camden and Wilson. Charles I. II. James II. William and Mary, by the Compiler.
- Earl of Kinnoull. Collins' *Peerage of England*, 5 vols. 8vo. bound in 6, *many plates.* - *Lond.* 1756
- Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa, or Collection of scarce and curious Pieces, relating chiefly to matters of English History*, 2 vols. in 1, 4to. bds. *plates.* - *ib.* 1779
- The greater part of these are letters of illustrious persons and historical memoranda, of the reign of Elizabeth.
- The *Complete Ambassador*, or two *Treaties of the intended Marriage of Queen Elizabeth of Glorious Memory*, comprised in *Letters of Negotiation of Sir F. Walsingham, the Answers of Burleigh, &c.* collected by Sir D. Digges, folio, *frontispiece.* - *Lond.* 1655
- "Wherein," says the author, "as in a clear mirror, may be seen the faces of the two Courts of England and France as they then stood."
- Memoirs of the Antiquities of Great Britain relating to the Reformation*, 18mo. *plates.* - 1723
- Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain in the Reign of James I.* 12mo. Edited by Lord Hailes. - *Glasg.* 1762
- The *Gun Powder Treason, James' Speech concerning it, &c.* 8vo. - *Lond.* 1679
- Earl of Kinnoull. *History of Great Britain from the Reformation to the Accession of the House of Hanover*, by James Macpherson, Esq. 2 vols. 4to. - *ib.* 1775
- Earl of Kinnoull. *Original Papers, containing the Secret History of Great Britain during the foregoing period*, vol. 1. 4to. *ib.* 1775
- Mr Jas. Buchan. *Almanack for 1682, with Prognostications.*
- Earl of Kinnoull. *History of the Coronation of the Most High, Most Mighty, and Most Excellent Monarch James II. King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, by F. Sandford, Esq. Lancaster Herald of Arms, folio.
- This very large and elegant work contains plates, not only of the Processions, Dresses, &c. but several representations of the interior of Westminster Abbey, and of the Ceremonies observed there.
- Memoirs of the most Material Transactions in England for the last hundred years preceding 1688*, by Dr James Wellwood, 8vo. - *ib.* 1700
- Lord Hailes. *Collection of Original Royal Letters, written by King Charles I. & II. James II. Prince Rupert, the King and Queen of Bohemia, &c. from 1619 to 1605*, by Sir G. Bromley, 8vo. *fine portraits.* *ib.* 1787
- For other works relative to the Reigns of James I. & II. and Charles I. & II. *vide supra.* There are also a number of Tracts illustrative of the Political and Religious Disputes of that and the subsequent period under William and Mary.
- L'Histoire du Temps, ou Relation de ce qui s'est passé principalement en Angleterre depuis les regnes de Charles II. et de Jacques II.* 2 tom. 18mo. - *Amst.* 1691

Donors.

- Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution. Paine's Answer. Wraxall's Sketch of the Reign of George III. in 1 vol. 8vo. - - - - - *cir.* 1790 Rev. Jas. Scott.
- Monasticon Eboracense, and the Ecclesiastical History of Yorkshire, by Dr John Burton, folio. *York*, 1758 Earl of Kinnoull.
- Eboracum, or the History and Antiquities of the City of York, 2 vols. 8vo. *plates.* - - - - - *ib.* 1788
- History of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, 8vo. - - - - - *Newcastle*, 1801 Mr Clennel.
- Antiquities of Stratford upon Avon, being a series of Legendary Paintings in Fresco discovered in 1804, drawn and published by Mr Fisher, London, folio, coloured plates. - - - - - 1807 Mr Fisher.
- Letter to the Committee of the Essex and Colchester Hospital, on the Discovery at that place of the Sphynx, with other Papers on the same subject, by E. W. A. Hay, A. B. 8vo. *plates.* - - - - - *Colchester*, 1821 The Author.
- Transactions of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, v. *supra.*
- Chorographia, or a Survey of Newcastle upon Tyne, in 1649, folio. - - - - - 1813 Soc. of Antiq. Newc.
- Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, by Joseph Strutt, 4to. *plates.* - - - - - *London*, 1801
- Folke's Tables of English Gold and Silver Coins, 4to. - - - - - *London*, 1745 Earl of Kinnoull.
- Leake's Historical Account of English Money, 8vo. *plates, best edition.* - - - - - *ib.* 1798
- Conder's Arrangement of Provincial Coins, Tokens, and Medalets, 8vo. - - - - - *Ipswich*, 1798
- See also Pembroke, Pinkerton, Bodley, &c. *supra.*
- Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti, cum Indice, folio. *Oxon.* 1697
- This very valuable volume is in four divisions; the first containing the Catalogue of MSS. in the Bodleian Library; the second, those in the other Colleges at Oxford; the third, those in the Cathedrals, and other celebrated Libraries in England; and the fourth, the MSS. in the various Libraries in Ireland. A Life of Sir T. Bodley is prefixed to the first part, and the frontispiece contains four fine portraits.
- The Spectator. Original edition, 500 Nos. bound in 2 vols. folio. - - - - - 1711—12 J. Richardson, Esq.
- Cowley's Works, folio, *portrait.* - - - - - *London*, 1709 Earl of Kinnoull.
- Butherforth's System of Natural Philosophy, 2 vols, 4to. *plates.* - - - - - *Cambr.* 1748 Earl of Kinnoull.
- Translation of the Report made to the Philotechnic Society of Paris, respecting John Griffiths, an English Traveller, by Jos. Lavalley, Secretary, 4to. - - - - - *London*, 1804 Earl of Buchan.
- Asiatic Miscellany, consisting of Translations, Imitations, &c. from curious Publications, by W. Chambers, Esq. and Sir Wm. Jones, 12mo. - - - - - 1787
- Gentleman's Magazine from 1787 to 1793, and from 1796 to October 1801 inclusive.
- Critical Review from July 1786 to December 1788.
- A Bibliographical, Antiquarian, and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany, by the Rev. T. Frognal Dibdin, 3 vols. Imperial 8vo. many fine plates. - - - - - *London*, 1821
- Discoveries in Egypt, by Belzoni, 4to. with the large folio volume of plates.
- Analytical Review, from September 1788 to December 1790.
- British Critic, from May 1793 to May 1794.
- Monthly Review, January to June 1786.
- Fifth Essay of D. M. a Friend of Truth and Physic, against the Circulation of the Blood, &c. 8vo. *London*, 1709 Mr Ogilvie.

Irish.

- Hollinshed's Chronicle of Ireland, to 1547, v. n. 14.
- Fraser's General View of the County of Wicklow, 8vo. - - - - - *Dublin*, 1801 Captain Fraser.
- The Irish Massacre set in a clear Light, 4to. *sd.*
- Historical Essay on the Dress of the Ancient and Modern Irish, with a Memoir on the Armour and Weapons of the Irish, by Joseph C. Walker, Member of the Royal Irish Academy.—Corresponding do. of the Antiquarian Society of Perth, &c. 4to. *plates.* - - - - - *Dublin*, 1788 Mr J. C. Walker.
- Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards, with Anecdotes of Music in Ireland, &c. by J. C. Walker, with plates, and music of select Irish Melodies, 4to. - - - - - *London*, 1786 Mr J. C. Walker.
- Reliques of Irish Poetry, consisting of Heroic Poems, Odes, &c. translated into English Verse, with the Originals in the Irish Character, Notes, and an Irish Tale by Miss Brooke, 4to. - - - - - *Dublin*, 1789
- Grammar of the Ibero-Celtic, or Irish Language, by Major (Col.) Vallancy, 4to. - - - - - *Dublin*, 1773 Mr Gillies.
- Begly's English and Irish Dictionary, 4to. - - - - - *Paris*, 1752
- Flores Bibliorum sive Loci Communes ex Vet. ac Novo Testamento excerpti, a F. Thoma Hibernico, 16mo. *Antv.* 1572

Medals and Coins.

Donors.

As in very few instances, in the early part of the Records of the Society, the description is given of the coins presented on various occasions, it has not been possible to annex the names of the Donors with certainty in the following Catalogue. There is, therefore, here subjoined; 1st, The names of those Gentlemen who gave donations of coins, of which no description is given: 2d, Any donations particularly noticed in the minutes; and, 3d, A Catalogue of the coins so far as they are arranged, with the names of the Donors in such instances as could be ascertained.

The following appear to have given donations of coins, some of them very numerous:—Mr Gillies, Mr Scott, Mr M'Laren, Mr Duncan of Auchterarder, Mr Rutherford, Mr Coldstream, Mr Gibson of the Academy, Rev. Dr Jamieson, Lord Buchan, Mr Grant of Hillton, Mr Blackie, Mr Murray of Dollary, Captain Shand, Mr Jervie, Mr Wright of Dundee (a liberal contributor,) Mr Hepburn, R. N., Mr Ferrier, Mr Seton, Mr Miller, Mr Hay of Seggieden, Rev. Mr Duncan of Abernethy, Mr M'Gregor of Fonab, Mr James Buchan, Mr Dumbreck, &c. &c.

A collection of silver coins, some of which are noticed in the following Catalogue, were presented on the 23d June 1812 by Mr Duncan, Druggist. They formed part of a large mass found by him in the foundation of the Parliament House in Perth.

Various donations, chiefly of Roman coins found in Spain, some of which are also noticed in the Catalogue, were presented at different times by the Rev. W. Wallace, Valladolid.

On the 5th November 1821, Mr Ogilvie presented a Groat of James I. Penny of Edward II. a Danish silver coin, and another foreign coin found on the site of the ancient Parliament House.

On the 12th November 1822, Mr Menzies, Factor to Compte Flahault, presented two coins of Edward, and the head of a glass image, found while clearing away the foundation of a place called the Chapel, in the Barony of Tullybeagles.

At the same meeting there was presented from Mr Blair, Dunkeld, a Groat of Robert II. found in the coffin of his brother the Wolfe of Badenoch, at Dunkeld. The same Gentleman presented a Medal struck to commemorate the building of Dunkeld Bridge.

On the 2d December 1824, Mr Pattison of Glasgow presented 50 coins, chiefly silver, in circulation in the West Indies.

At the same time, there were presented from Sir David Moncrieff, several gold and silver coins in fine preservation, of Robert II. & III. found on his estate near Abernethy.

Among other Burmese curiosities, presented by Dr Ogilvie on the 6th December 1825, there were two Burmese coins in the form of geese, which serve the purpose in Birmah of weights as well as money.

At the same meeting; Captain Stuart of Annat presented a very fine large gold Moorish coin, struck at Grenada by Mahummed, who succeeded his father Joseph in 1396. The execution of this coin, or rather medal, is admirable, and its preservation very fine.

On the same occasion, Mr Lorimer presented a curious Roman Catholic medal, having St Bernard on the obverse, and the Virgin on a pillar on the reverse.

On the 7th March 1826, a Mina of Athens in singularly fine preservation, with some other Greek and Roman coins, were presented by Mr R. Buist.

The following is a Catalogue of the coins (exclusive of duplicates) in possession of the Society, so far as they are yet arranged; including the principal part of the Greek, Roman, English and Scottish. The foreign coins and modern medals, which are very numerous (and which include a set of the Napoleon medals, all the medals struck on occasion of the King's visit to Scotland, &c.) cannot at present be added to the list.

GREEK.

Date.	Description.	Slide.	No.	Metal.	Remarks, uncom. Inscriptions, &c.	Donors.
A. M. 3677	Ptolemy I. King of Egypt	i	8	AE	ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ found in Egypt by Col. (now Gen.) Stewart	Gen. D. Stewart
3640	Olympias, Queen of Philip of Macedon	vi	201	AE	One of the most perfect medals of the Macedonian Kings known to be in any cabinet	Mr Wright, Dundee
3714	Lysimachus, King of Macedon	i	2	AE		
3826	Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria	vii	229	AR		
3856	Antiochus VI. of Syria	vi	202	AE		
3856	Tryphon of Syria	vi	203	AE		
	Ambracia, in Epirus	vi	209	AE		
	id. id.	vi	210	AE		
	Amphipolis, in Macedonia	vi	211	AE		
	Antioch, in Syria	vi	212	AE		
	Agrigentum, in Sicily	vi	213	AE		
	Carthage	vi	214	AE		
	Coos	vi	215	AE		
	Corcyra	vi	216	AE	A very rare coin of this island, with two heads on the obverse	
	Paros	vi	217	AE	Incertus	
	Rhegium, in Italy	vi	219	AE		
	Smyrna, in Ionia	vi	220	AE		
	Syracuse	i	1	AE	A Greek medallion of singular beauty, and in the finest preservation. It is thought, by competent judges, to have few equals in any cabinet	
	Syracuse	vi	221	AE		

ROMAN.

	Denarius of the Cippia Family	vii	235	AR		
	id. Mæcilia id.	vii	234	AR		
	id. Pinaria id.	vii	236	AR		
	id. Scribonia id.	vii	241	AR		
	id. Titia id.	vii	238	AR		
	id. in honour of the triumph of Scæurus and Hypsæus over King Aretas	vii	239	AR		
3956	Mark Antony - Denarius	vii	242	AR		
	id. - id.	vii	243	AR		
	Julius Cæsar - id.	vii	244	AR		
	id. - id.	vii	245	AR		
	id. - id.	vii	246	AR	With bust on the obverse; and on the reverse, the Curule chair	
	id. - - -	v	129	AE		
3972	Augustus - Denarius	vii	250	AR		
	id. - id.	vii	251	AR		
	id. - id.	vii	251	AR		
	id. - id.	vii	252	AR		
	id. - - -	v	130	AE		
	id. - - -	v	131	AE		
	Agrippa - - -	v	133	AE	Found by Rev. Mr Wallace in Spain. It is in fine preservation	Rev. Mr Wallace.
A. D. 15	Tiberius - Denarius	vii	249	AR	Found on the site of the Parliament House at Perth	
	id. - - id.	vii	254	AR		
	id. - - -	i	10	AE	Reverse, of Elephants	
	id. - - -	v	132	AE	COL. NEM. Colony of Nemausus; two busts on the obverse.	
	id. - - -	v	135	AE	Temple, on the reverse	

ROMAN, *continued.*

<i>Date.</i> A. D.	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Slide.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Metal.</i>	<i>Remarks, &c.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
	Tiberius	v	136	AE	Reverse, yoke of oxen in a plough	
	id.	xiv	579	AE		
	Antonia, daughter of Mark Antony	v	134	AE	Found in Spain by Mr Wallace	Mr Wallace
	Germanicus	v	137	AE	do.	do. do.
	id.	v	139	AE		
	id.	xiv	581	AE		
	id.	v	140	AE	Much defaced. It is, however, the rare medal with the bust of his son (Caligula,) along with his own	
	Agrippina	i	9	AE	The medallion with the bust of Agrippina on the obverse, and the inscription of Tiberius on the reverse	
38	Caligula	v	138	AE	This rare coin, found in Spain by Mr Wallace, has the bust of Germanicus on the reverse	Mr Wallace
42	Claudius	v	142	AE	Found in Spain.	
56	Nero	vii	265	AR		
	id.	i	11	AE	The reverse of this beautiful medal proves the celebrated Venetian horses to have at one period ornamented a triumphal arch at Rome	
	id.	v	144	AE	Found in Spain	
	id.	v	145	AE	id.	
	id.	v	146	AE		
	id.	v	147	AE		
	id.	xiv	582	AE		
69	Galba	v	148	AE		
	id.	vii	256	AR		
69	Otho	vii	257	AR		
	id.	i	12	AE	Much defaced; but having been found in Spain by Mr W. it is undoubtedly genuine	Mr Wallace
70	Vitellius	vii	258	AR		
70	Vespasian	vii	260	AR		
	id.	vii	260	AR		
	id.	i	13	AE		
	id.	v	149	AE		
	id.	v	150	AE		
	id.	v	151	AE		
79	Titus	vii	231	AU	Found at Valladolid	Mr Murray, Dolarly
81	Domitian	vii	262	AR		
	id.	vii	263	AR		
	id.	i	14	AE		
	id.	v	154	AE		
	id.	v	155	AE	Found in Spain	
	id.	v	156	AE	id.	
	id.	v	157	AE		
	id.	v	158	AE		
	id.	xiv	583	AE		
96	Nerva	vii	264	AR		
	id.	vii	265	AR		
98	Trajan	vii	266	AR		
	id.	vii	267	AR		
	id.	i	15	AE		
	id.	i	16	AE		
	id.	i	17	AE		
	id.	i	18	AE		
	id.	v	159	AE		
	id.	v	160	AE	Found in Spain	
	id.	v	161	AE		

ROMAN, *continued.*

<i>Date.</i> A. D.	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Stds.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Metal.</i>	<i>Remarks, &c.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
	Trajan	Small Greek	xiv	586	AE	
	id.	id.	xiv	589	AE	Reverse, Diana
117	Hadrian	Denarius	vii	268	AR	
	id.	id.	vii	269	AR	
	id.	Medallion	i	19	AE	
	id.	id.	i	20	AE	
	id.	id.	i	21	AE	On the reverse of this medal the figure of the Emperor; the drapery, &c. are finely executed.
	id.	Greek id.	i	22	AE	Found in Spain
	id.	-	v	162	AE	
	id.	-	v	163	AE	Found in Spain
	id.	Minim.	xiv	585	AE	
	id.	Greek id.	xiv	584	AE	
	Lucius Aelius Caesar	Denarius	viii	279	AR	This young man was adopted by Hadrian, but died before him.
117	Sabina	Denarius	vii	270	AR	
138	Antoninus Pius	Denarius	vii	271	AR	
	id.	id.	vii	272	AR	
	id.	id.	vii	273	AR	
	id.	id.	vii	274	AR	
	id.	Medallion	i	23	AE	
	id.	Greek id.	i	24	AE	Found in Spain. Head of Jupiter on the reverse.
	id.	-	v	165	AE	
	id.	-	v	166	AE	
	id.	-	v	167	AE	Defaced. Reverse uncommon.
	id.	-	vi	225	AE	Id. but a very rare coin, having the busts of Aurelius and Faustina on the reverse.
	id.	Minim.	xiv	587	AE	
	id.	Med.	ii	50	AE	
	Faustina	Denarius	vii	275	AR	
	id.	Medallion	i	25	AE	
	id.	-	v	168	AE	Found in Spain
	id.	-	v	169	AE	
161	Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, (the Philosopher)	Denarius	vii	276	AE	
	id.	id.	vii	277	AR	Reverse fine. VIC. PAR.
	id.	id.	vii	278	AR	
	id.	Medallion	i	26	AE	
	id.	id.	i	27	AE	
	id.	id.	i	28	AE	
	id.	-	v	170	AE	Found in Spain
	id.	-	v	171	AE	Reverse, a Galley
	id.	-	v	172	AE	
	Faustina Jun.	Denarius	viii	280	AR	
	id.	Medallion	i	29	AE	
	id.	id.	i	30	AE	
	id.	-	v	173	AE	
	id.	-	v	174	AE	
170	Verus	Denarius	viii	281	AR	Consecratio
	id.	-	v	176	AE	
	Lucilla	-	v	177	AE	
180	Commodus	Denarius	viii	282	AR	
	id.	Medallion	i	31	AE	
	id.	id.	i	32	AE	
	Crispina	id.	ii	33	AE	
	Pertinax	Denarius	viii	283	AR	
192	Severus	Denarius	viii	284	AR	
193	id.	id.	viii	285	AR	

Col. Campbell of
Dalsersf.

ROMAN, *continued.*

<i>Date.</i> A.D.	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Slide.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Metal.</i>	<i>Remarks, &c.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
	Severus	Denarius	viii	286	AR	
	id.	Med.	i	34	AE	
	Julia Domna	Denarius	viii	287	AR	
	id.	id.	viii	288	AR	
	id.	-	vi	179	AE	
	id.	-	v	180	AE	
211	Caracalla	Denarius	viii	289	AR	
	id.	id.	viii	290	AR	
	id.	id.	viii	291	AR	
	id.	id.	viii	292	AR	
212	Geta	Denarius	viii	293	AR	
218	Heliogabalus	Denarius	viii	294	AR	
222	Alexander	Denarius	viii	295	AR	
	id.	id.	viii	296	AR	
	id.	id.	viii	297	AR	
	id.	id.	viii	298	AR	
	id.	Med.	ii	35	AE	
	id.	id.	ii	36	AE	
	id.	id.	ii	37	AE	
	id.	id.	ii	38	AE	Found in Spain
	id.	-	vi	181	AE	id.
	id.	-	vi	182	AE	
	Julia Mamaea	Denarius	viii	299	AR	
	id.	Med.	ii	39	AE	
	id.	Minim.	xiv	288	AE	
235	Maximin I.	Denarius	viii	300	AR	
	id.	Med.	ii	40	AE	Found in Spain
	id.	-	vi	183	AE	
	id.	Med.	ii	52	AE	
	Maximus Caesar	Med.	ii	40	AE	
238	Gordian III.	Denarius	viii	301	AR	After this period it becomes difficult to distinguish the Denarii from the base Silver
	id.	id.	viii	302	AR	
	id.	id.	viii	303	AR	
	id.	Med.	ii	41	AE	
	id.	id.	ii	51	AE	
244	Philip	Denarius	viii	304	AR	
	id.	id.	viii	305	AR	
	id.	id.	viii	306	AR	
	id.	Med.	ii	42	AE	
	Marcia Otacilia	Denarius	viii	307	AR	
	id.	Med.	ii	43	AE	
	id.	id.	ii	44	AE	
246	Philip Jun.	Med.	ii	45	AE	
250	Trajanus Decius	Denarius	viii	308	AR	
	id.	id.	viii	309	AR	
	id.	id.	viii	310	AR	
	id.	Med.	vi	185	AE	
252	Gallus	Denarius	viii	311	AR	
	id.	-	vi	184	AE	Found in Spain
253	Vibius Volusianus	Denarius	viii	312	AR	
	id.	id.	viii	313	AR	
254	Valerian I.	Denarius	viii	315	AR	
254	Gallienus	Denarius	viii	317	AR	
	id.	id.	viii	318	AR	
	id.	-	xiv	599	AE	Found in Spain
	id.	-	xiv	600	AE	
	id.	-	xiv	601	AE	601, 606, &c. have tigers and other animals on the reverse.
				607		602 is twice struck very distinctly on the obverse

ROMAN, *continued.*

Date. A. D.	Description.	Slide.	No.	Metal.	Remarks, &c.	Donors.
254	Cornelia Salonina	Denarius	viii 319	AR		
	id.	id.	viii 320	AR		
263	Valerian II.	Denarius	viii 316	AR		
265	Valerian III.	Denarius	viii 314	AR		
263-8	Postumus		viii 321	Base	Usurper in Gaul, Britain, &c.	
	id.		xiv 609	AE		
	id.		xiv 610	AE		
	id.		xiv 611	AE		
	id.		xiv 612	AE		
	id.		xiv 613	AE		
	Victorinus		xiv 615	AE	Usurper in Gaul, &c.	
	id.		xiv 616	AE		
	id.		xiv 617	AE		
268	Claudius Gothicus		xiv 619	AE		
	id.		xiv 620	AE		
	id.		xiv 621	AE		
	id.		xiv 622	AE		
270	Aurelian		xiv 623	AE		
	id.		xiv 624	AE		
	id.		xiv 625	AE		
	id.		xiv 626	AE		
	Tetricus		xiv 627	AE	Usurper in Gaul, &c.	
	id.		xiv 628	AE		
275	Tacitus		xv 629	AE		
	id.		xv 630	AE		
276	Probus		viii 322	Base		
	id.		xv 631	AE		
	id.		xv 632	AE		
	id.		xv 633	AE		
282	Carinus		xv 634	AE		
284	Diocletian		vi 189	AE		
	id.		xv 635	AE		
	id.		xv 636	AE		
	id.		xv 637	AE	Egyptian	
	id.		xv 638	AE	id.	
	id.		xv 639	AE	id.	
285	Maximian		vi 190	AE		
	id.		vi 191	AE		
	id.		vi 192	AE		
	id.		v 193	AE		
292	Constantius I. (Chlorus)		xv 641	AE		
	id.		xv 642	AE		
	id.		vi 197	AE		
	Helena		xv 643	AE		
299	Maximian II.		vi 194	AE		
	id.		vi 195	AE		
	id.		vi 196	AE		
	id.		xv 644	AE		
	id.		xv 647-8	AE		
	Carausius		xv 645	AE	Emperor in Britain	
	id.		xv 646	AE		
	id.		xv 647	AE		
	id.		xv 648	AE		
	Allectus		xv 649	AE	In Britain	
306	Maximin		xv 650	AE		
	Maxentius		xv 651	AE		
311	Licinius	Denarius	viii 323	AR		
	id.		xv 652	AE		
	id.		xv 653	AE		
	id.		xv 654	AE		
	id.		xv 655	AE		
	id.		xv 656	AE		
323	Constantine (the Great)		xv 659	AE		

ROMAN, *continued.*

<i>Date.</i> A. D.	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Slide.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Metal.</i>	<i>Remarks, &c.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
	Constantine (the Great)	xv	661	AE		
	Flavia Maxima Fausta	xv	664	AE		
	id.	xv	655	AE		
340	Constantine, jun.	xv	660	AE		
	id.	xv	662	AE		
	id.	xvi	679	AE		
	id.	xvi	680	AE		
330	Crispus	xv	669	AE		
	id.	xv	670	AE		
	id.	xv	671	AE		
	id.	xv	672	AE		
	id.	xv	673	AE		
	id.	xv	674	AE		
340	Constans	xvi	681	AE		
	id.	xvi	682	AE		
	Constantius II.	vi	198	AE		
	id.	xvi	684	AE		
	Magnentius	xvi	686	AE		
	id.	xvi	687	AE		
	id.	xvi	688	AE		
364	Valentinian I.	xvi	689	AE		
	Valens	xvi	691	AE		
	id.	xvi	692	AE		
367	Gratian	xvi	694	AE		
379	Theodosius (the Great)	xvi	696	AE		

ENGLISH.

	William	Penny	xii	481	AR	One of the silver pennies struck by William while Duke of Normandy
1066	William I.	Penny	xii	482	AR	The full face. Struck after the Conquest
1100	Henry I.	Penny	xii	483	AR	
1154	Henry II.	Penny	xii	485	AR	
	id.	id.	xii	486	AR	
1216	Henry III.	Penny	xii	487	AR	
	id.	id.	xii	488	AR	
1272	Edward I.	Penny	xii	489	AR	Struck at London
	id.	id.	xii	490	AR	Struck at id.
	id.	id.	xii	491	AR	Struck at Bristol
	id.	id.	xii	492	AR	Struck at Canterbury
	id.	id.	xii	493	AR	Struck at York
	id.	id.	xii	494	AR	Struck at Durham
	id.	id.	xii	495	AR	Struck at Exeter
	id.	id.	xii	496	AR	Struck at Durham
	id.	id.	xii	497	AR	Struck at Newcastle
	id.	id.	xii	498	AR	Struck at Dublin
	id.	id.	xii	499	AR	Struck at id.
	id.	Halfpenny	xii	499	AR	
1307	Edward II.	Penny	xii	500	AR	Struck at London
	id.	id.	xii	501	AR	Struck at id.
	id.	id.	xii	502	AR	Struck at Edmunbury
	id.	id.	xii	503	AR	
	id.	id.	xii	504	AR	Struck at Canterbury
	id.	id.	xii	505	AR	Struck at id.
	id.	id.	xii	506	AR	Struck at Durham
	id.	id.	xii	507	AR	Struck at id.
	id.	id.	xii	508	AR	Struck at Dublin
1327	Edward III.	Noble	ix	329	AU	
	Edward III.	Groat	x	409	AR	

ENGLISH, *continued.*

Date. A. D.	Description.	Slide.	No.	Metal.	Remarks, &c.	Donors.
	Edward III.	Half-groat	xii	520	AR	
	id.	Penny	xii	521	AR	
1413	Henry V.	Groat	x	410	AR	Struck at Calais
	id.	id.	x	411	AR	id.
	id.	Half-groat	x	423	AR	
1423	Henry VI.	Groat	x	412	AR	
	id.	id.	x	413	AR	
	id.	id.	x	414	AR	
	id.	id.	x	415	AR	
	id.	Half-groat	x	422	AR	
	id.	id.	xii	519	AR	
	id.	Penny	xii	509	AR	
1471	Edward IV.	Half-noble	ix	330	AU ¹	
	id.	Groat	x	417	AR	
	id.	id.	x	418	AR	
	id.	Half-groat	x	424	AR	
1485	Henry VII.	Shilling	ix	338	AR	Profile
	id.	Groat	x	416	AR	Front Face
	id.	Penny	xii	510	AR	Type,—the King seated on the throne
1509	Henry VIII.	Sixpence	x	379	AR	Profile
	id.	id.	x	380	AR	id.
	id.	id.	x	381	Base	Front Face
	id.	Half-groat	xii	522	AR	Profile
	id.	Penny	xii	511	AR	id.
1547	Edward VI.	Shilling	ix	339	AR	
	id.	Sixpence	x	382	AR	
1553	Mary	Sixpence	x	384	AR	
1554	Philip and Mary	Shilling	ix	340	AR	
1557	id.	Sixpence	x	383	AR	
	Elizabeth	Shilling	ix	341	AR	
	id.	id.	ix	342	AR	
	id.	id.	ix	343	AR	
1567	id.	Sixpence	x	385	AR	
1579	id.	id.	x	386	AR	
1576	id.	id.	x	387	AR	
	id.	id.	x	388	AR	
1572	id.	Threepence	xii	523	AR	
	id.	Penny	xii	512	AR	
	id.	id.	xii	513	AR	
	id.	Halfpenny	xii	514	AR	
	id.	Three halfpence	xii	515	AR	
	James I.	Half-crown	iii	81	AR	
	id.	Shilling	ix	344	AR	
	id.	id.	ix	345	AR	
	id.	id.	ix	346	AR	
	id.	Irish Shilling	ix	347	AR	
1605	id.	Sixpence	x	389	AR	
1621	id.	id.	x	390	AR	
1624	id.	id.	x	391	AR	
	id.	Irish Sixpence	x	392	AR	
1625	Charles I.	Gold Crown	ix	331	AU	Or 20 shilling piece
	id.	Half-crown	iii	82	AR	
	id.	id.	iii	83	AR	
	id.	id.	iii	84	AR	
	id.	Shilling	ix	348	AR	
	id.	id.	ix	349	AR	
	id.	id.	ix	350	AR	Siege piece
	id.	Sixpence	x	393	AR	
	id.	id.	x	394	AR	
	id.	Penny	xii	516	AR	
	id.	Threepence	xiii	529	AR	
1651	Commonwealth	Shilling	ix	351	AR	

ENGLISH, *continued.*

<i>Date.</i> A. D.	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Slide.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Metal.</i>	<i>Remarks, &c.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
1653	Commonwealth	Shilling	ix	352	AR	
	id.	Twopence	xii	525	AR	
1681	Charles II.	Guinea	ix	332	AU	
1664	id.	Crown	iii	73	AR	
1662	id.	id.	iii	74	AR	
1672	id.	Shilling	ix	353	AR	
1669	id.	id.	ix	354	AR	
1671	id.	Sixpence	x	395	AR	
	id.	Twopence	xii	524	AR	
	id.	Penny	xii	526	AR	
	id.	Threepence	xiii	530	AR	
	id.	id.	xiii	531	AR	
1687	James II.	Crown	iii	75	AR	
	id.	Half Crown	iii	86	AR	
1685	id.	id.	iii	85	AR	
	id.	Shilling	ix	355	AR	
1688	id.	id.	ix	356	AR	
1689	id.	Gun Money	ix	357	AE	
1689	id.	id.	ix	358	AE	
1688	id.	Groat	xiii	535	AR	
1689	William and Mary	Half Crown	iii	87	AR	
1689	id.	id.	iii	88	AR	Mr Campbell of Achallader.
1691	id.	Sixpence	x	396	AR	
1689	id.	Threepence	xiii	536	AR	
1690	William III.	Shilling	ix	360	AR	
1697	id.	id.	ix	361	AR	
	id.	Sixpence	x	397	AR	
	id.	id.	x	398	AR	
1705	Anne	Half Crown	iii	89	AR	
1707	id.	id.	iii	90	AR	
1712	id.	id.	iii	91	AR	
1707	id.	Shilling	ix	362	AR	
1708	id.	id.	ix	363	AR	
1707	id.	Sixpence	x	399	AR	
1708	id.	id.	x	400	AR	
1711	id.	id.	x	401	AR	
1710	id.	Groat	x	419	AR	
1703	id.	Threepence	xiii	537	AR	
1710	id.	Twopence	xii	527	AR	
1723	George I.	Shilling	ix	364	AR	
1745	George II.	Shilling	ix	365	AR	
1758	id.	id.	ix	366	AR	
	id.	Sixpence	x	402	AR	
1757	id.	id.	x	403	AR	
	id.	id.	x	404	AR	
1737	id.	id.	x	405	AR	
1732	id.	Groat	x	420	AR	
1750	id.	Penny	xii	517	AR	
1818	George III.	Crown	iii	76	AR	
1804	id.	B. of E. Dollar	iii	77	AR	
1608	id.	Token 30d. Irish	iii	94	AR	
1787	id.	Shilling	ix	367	AR	
	id.	id.	ix	368	AR	
1805	id.	Token 10d. Irish	ix	369	AR	
	id.	id. 5d. id.	x	408	AR	
1787	id.	Sixpence	x	406	AR	
	id.	id.	x	407	AR	
1763	id.	Threepence	xiii	538	AR	
1780	id.	id.	xiii	539	AR	
1800	id.	id.	xiii	540	AR	
	id.	Twopence	xii	528	AR	
1772	id.	Penny	xii	518	AR	
1800	id.	id.	xii	518	AR	

Mrs Forrester,
Hull.

SCOTTISH.

<i>Date.</i> <i>A. D.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Slide.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Metal.</i>	<i>Remarks, &c.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
1107	Alexander I. - - Penny	xiii	559	AR	Found in the foundation of the Parliament House at Perth, 1812	Mr Duncan
1124	David I. - - Penny	xiii	560	AR		
1165	William the Lion - Penny	xiii	561	AR	Struck at Perth	
	id. - - id.	xiii	562	AR		
	id. - - id.	xiii	563	AR	Hue Walter	
	id. - - id.	xiii	564	AR	Struck at Roxburgh	
	id. - - id.	xiii	565	AR	Struck at Berwick	
1214	Alexander II. - - Penny	xiii	566	AR		
1249	Alexander III. - Penny	xiii	568	AR		
	id. - - id.	xiii	569	AR		
	id. - - id.	xiii	570	AR		
	id. - - id.	xiii	571	AR		
	id. - - id.	xiii	572	AR		
1293	John Baliol - - Penny	xiii	573	AR	Found in the foundation of the Parliament House at Perth, 1812	Mr J. Duncan, Druggist
1306	Robert I. - - Gold	xi	429	AU	It is disputed whether Robert the Bruce coined any gold: but this gold Penny differs so much, both in size and fineness, of the gold from the gold Penny of Robert II. (No 430.) that it may, with every degree of probability, be ascribed to Robert I.	
1330	David II. - - Groat	xi	439	AR	Struck at Edinburgh	
	id. - - id.	xi	440	AR	Struck at id.	
	id. - - id.	xi	441	AR	Struck at Aberdeen	
	id. - - Half-Groat	xiii	549	AR	Struck at Edinburgh	
	id. - - id.	xiii	550	AR	Struck at id.	
	id. - - Penny	xiii	574	AR		
	id. - - id.	xiii	575	AR		
	id. - - id.	xiii	576	AR		
1371	Robert II. - - Gold Penny	xi	430	AU	Found in a field, on Sir David Moncreiff's estate near Abernethy.	Sir David Moncreiff
	id. - - id.	xi	431	AU		
	id. - - Groat	xi	442	AR	Struck at Perth	
	id. - - id.	xi	443	AR	Struck at id.	
	id. - - id.	xi	444	AR	Struck at Edinburgh	
	id. - - id.	xi	445	AR	Struck at id.	
	id. - - Half-Groat	xiii	551	AR	Struck at Perth	
	id. - - id.	xiii	552	AR	Struck at id.	
	id. - - id.	xiii	553	AR	Struck at Dundee	
	id. - - id.	xiii	554	AR	Struck at Edinburgh	
1390	Robert III. - - St Andrew	xi	432	AU	Presented 1824	Sir David Moncreiff
	id. - - id.	xi	433	AU		
	id. - - Groat	xi	446	AR	Struck at Perth	
	id. - - id.	xi	447	AR	Struck at id.	
	id. - - id.	xi	448	AR	Struck at id.	
	id. - - id.	xi	449	AR	Struck at Edinburgh	
	id. - - id.	xi	450	AR	Struck at id.	Sir David Moncreiff
	id. - - id.	xi	451	AR	Struck at id.	Sir David Moncreiff
	id. - - Half-Groat	xiii	555	AR	Struck at id.	
1424	James I. - - Groat	xi	452	AR		
	id. - - id.	xi	453	AR	Found near Coupar Angus	
	id. - - id.	xi	454	AR		
	id. - - id.	xi	455	AR	Found in Strathardle	
	id. - - Penny	xiii	578	AR		

SCOTTISH, *continued.*

<i>Date.</i> A. D.	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Slide.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Metal.</i>	<i>Remarks, &c.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
1437	James II.	Groat	xi	456	AR	
	id.	id.	xi	457	AR	
	id.	Half-groat	xiii	556	AR	
1460	James III.	Unicorn	xi	434	AU	
	id.	Groat	xi	458	AR	
	id.	id.	xi	459	AR	
	id.	id.	xi	460	AR	Presented with four others of the reign
	id.	id.	xi	461	AR	
	id.	Half-groat	xiii	557	AR	
1488	James IV.	Gold	xi	435	AU	The type of this coin presents the King on horseback
	id.	Unicorn	xi	436	AU	
	id.	Groat	xi	462	AR	
	id.	id.	xi	263	AR	
	id.	id.	xi	464	AR	
	id.	Half-groat	xiii	558	AR	
1513	James V.	Groat	xi	465	AR	
1542	Mary					
1567		Crown	iii	65	AR	
1565	id.	Half-crown	iii	66	AR	
1556	id.	Merk	xi	466	AR	
	id.	Half-merk	xi	467	AR	
1561	id.	Testoon	iii	67	AR	This fine coin has the bust of Mary on the obverse
1560	id.	id.	iii	68	AR	With the cypher of Francis and Mary
1555	id.	Half-merk	xi	468	AR	Struck on the marriage of Francis and Mary
1575	James VI.	Ryal	xi	437	AU	
	id.	Merk	iii	70	AR	
1573	id.	id.	iii	71	AR	
1603	id.	id.	iii	72	AR	
1581	id.	Half-merk	xi	469	AR	
	id.	Quarter-merk	xi	470	AR	
	id.	id.	xi	471	AR	
	id.	id.	xi	472	AR	
1583	id.	Half-crown	iii	69	AR	With the King's portrait when young
G. B.	Charles I.	Quarter-merk	xi	473	AR	
	id.	id.	xi	474	AR	
	William III.	Quarter-merk	xi	476	AR	

Natural History.

				<i>Donors.</i>
1790 SKULL of the Urus, found in a morass in the Highlands.	-	-	-	Mr Wright, Dundee.
Horns of a Stag, do.	-	-	-	Mr Wright, Dundee.
African Viper, Snake, Sucking-Fish, &c.	-	-	-	Mr Wright, Dundee.
1811 Barbadoes Cabbage-Leaf.	-	-	-	John Laing, Esq.
Golden-tailed Water-Snake, and the Skins of various other Serpents.	-	-	-	John Laing, Esq.
Snout of the Saw Fish.	-	-	-	John Laing, Esq.
Animated Leaf from South America.	-	-	-	John Keir, Esq.
Rhinoceros, Beetle, and large Bee, from South America.	-	-	-	John Keir, Esq.
Pair of Roe's Horns, found five feet below the surface of the ground, at the old Parliament House, Perth.	-	-	-	Mr Duncan, Druggist.
1812 Sea Island Cotton Seed, with some unripe Cotton pods.	-	-	-	Mr W. Blair.
Skin of the Jaguar.	-	-	-	W. M'Pherson, Esq.
1814 Large Moth, from Demerara.	-	-	-	W. M'Pherson, Esq.
Several Snakes, and Snake Skins.	-	-	-	W. M'Pherson, Esq.
1821 Pair of Antlers, dragged out of the Tay in a Fisherman's net.	-	-	-	Captain Moncrieff.
1822 Wild Cat, from Glenalmond.	-	-	-	J. M. Patton, Esq.
Specimens of upwards of fifty Plants from New South Wales.	-	-	-	Dr J. Miller.
1824 Skull of an Elephant, sent from Africa by Major Peddie, which was considered remarkable for size even there.	-	-	-	Earl of Kinnoull.
Specimens of the Larus Parasiticus, Colymbus Septentrionalis, and other Birds from the Arctic Regions.	-	-	-	Dr Alex. Fisher.
Specimens of Plants and Grasses from the Arctic Regions.	-	-	-	Dr Fisher.
Pelican, Flamingo, Penguin, Cape Pigeons, African King Fishers, Wheedaw Bird and Nest, African Pheasant, and many other Birds.	-	-	-	Dr John Ogilvie.
Porcupine Fish, Hog Fish, and Flying Fish.	-	-	-	Dr John Ogilvie.
Scorpions, and other Reptiles.	-	-	-	Dr John Ogilvie.
Collection of Snakes, Crocodile's Skin, &c.	-	-	-	Gen. Stewart of Garth.
Horns of the Wild Indian Ox.	-	-	-	Cap. Stuart of Annat.
Horns of Antelopes, and various other African Animals.	-	-	-	Mr Saunders, Cape Town.
Eagle shot in Perthshire.	-	-	-	John Richardson, Esq. of Pitfour.
Pheasants, Curlew, and various other Birds.	-	-	-	Jas. Lorimer, Esq.
Various Birds, and other Specimens, presented by Patrick Murray Thriepland, Esq. younger of Fingask, Captain M'Duff, James Hay, Esq. of Seggieden, Mr Duncan, Mr Sandeman, Tulloch, Mr Pillans of Myers Castle, Mrs Aikman, &c. &c.	-	-	-	Jas. Gooden, Esq. London.
Carnauba, or Vegetable Wax.	-	-	-	Dr John Ogilvie.
1825 A splendid Cabinet of Shells.	-	-	-	Dr John Ogilvie.
Two Diamond Beetles, and four Scorpion Stones.	-	-	-	Dr John Ogilvie.
Albatros, fourteen feet from tip to tip of the wings.	-	-	-	Dr John Ogilvie.
Tortoises, and other Animals.	-	-	-	Dr John Ogilvie.
Brent Goose.	-	-	-	Colonel Paterson.

<i>Donors.</i>	
Dr Miller.	Burgomaster, and other Birds.
Mr Ramsay.	A number of small Birds, chiefly from South America.
Mr H. Forbes.	Several fine small Shells.
Mr Crow.	Turkey with four legs, and Petrified Shell.
Dr J. Ogilvie.	Jaw of a young Shark.
Dr J. Ogilvie.	Horns of a Barbary Sheep.
Dr J. Ogilvie.	Eggs of the Boa Constrictor.
Captain Ross.	Bird of Paradise.
Mr W. Miller.	Black Cock and Pheasant.
Mr Jas. Chalmers.	Great Northern Diver, shot a few miles north from Perth.
Mr Elder.	Beautiful specimen of the Bittern, shot in the neighbourhood of Perth.
Mr P. W. Stewart.	Partridge nearly white, do.
Mr M'Pherson.	Nests of the Mocking Bird, and Humming Bird. King Fisher, caught within two miles of Perth.
Dr Stewart.	Internal Ear of a Whale, taken in Latitude 81° 13' North.
T. Dumbreck, Esq.	Head of a very large Turtle, from the Island of Ascension.
Mr Alex. Fenton.	Pair of Ram's Horns, very large, and joined. Fine specimen of the Seal (Phoca), caught in the Tay.

Mineralogy.

Rev. Dr Jamieson.	1785	STONES found in a rock near Forfar.
Mr W. Ritchie.		Lava of Mount Vesuvius.
Miss Craig.	1787	Tongue of a Bird petrified, sent from the West Indies.
Mr Rutherford.	1807	Lime, Pumicestone, and vitrified Specimens, from Berigonium.
do.		Tyndrum Lead Ore.
Lieut. Rollo.	1812	Volcanic Dust, from the Volcano on the Island of St Vincent.
Mr Miller.	1815	Thirty-two small Specimens, various.
Workmen at Tulloch.		Micaceous Stone in the heart of a tree.
Major Balmain.	1819	Asbestos in its natural state.
Capt. Moncrieff.	1821	Sulphate of Barytes.
Al. Murray, Esq.	1824	Zeolite from Glenfarg, numerous Specimens.
Mr Dick, Ballendean.		Jasper from the Carse of Gowrie.
Andrew Gray, Esq.		Large Specimen of Fluor Spar.
Lieut. Harris, Royal Staff Corps.		Specimens from Beer Alstone, Devon; St Austle, Cornwall; Lead and Silver with Quartz, from Beer Alstone; Tin combined with Quartz, from St Agnes, Cornwall; and a curious Specimen brought from under the greater Fall at Niagara, 20th May, 1820.
Mr M'Gregor.		Large Specimen of Amethyst.
Rev. J. Campbell.		Asbestos from Africa.
Mr Peebles.		Specimen of the Rock of Gibraltar.
Miss M. Richardson.	1826	Large Specimen of White Spar.
Miss Stewart, Cross-mount.		Petrified Bone found in a morass in the Highlands.
Mr J. Christie.		Tin in combination with other Minerals.
Mr P. Cochran.		Metalliferous Ores, from Arbroath.
Dr Riach.		Marbles from Persepolis.
Provost Stewart.		Madrepore, and Pudding-stone.
Thos. Dumbreck, Esq.		Lava, from Ascension Island.

Curious Formations of Lime.	-	-	-	<i>Donors.</i>
Rock Cork, found imbedded in Blue Whinstone.	-	-	-	Mr Dick, Ballendean.
				Mr Russel of Demperstone.
Granite from Melville Island.	-	-	-	Capt. James Ross.

The following have been collected at the expense of the Society :—

Various Specimens of Perthshire Agates.

————— Rock Crystal.

————— Jasper.

Various Specimens of Foreign Marbles.

————— Coral.

Very perfect Specimen of Cubicite, from Glenfarg, near Perth.

There have also been made the following important Additions :—

I. A Donation from the Earl of KINNOULL, consisting of a Collection procured by his Lordship in Italy ; viz.

** Catalogue des pierres de Lavalée de Chamonix.*

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 Poud'inque du Coldebalme | 34 Granite a fin grains de l'Eguille verte |
| 2 Breche du Tour | 35 Granite gneiss vert obscur avec pirite de blaiiere |
| 3 Schiste olivatre du Tour | 36 Granite de l'aiguille du Grepont |
| 4 Grès des posetes | 37 Quartz grenu en masse des charmes |
| 5 Granite fasilineux des Eguilles rouges | 38 Epidote Compacte de l'aiguille des charmaux |
| 6 Talc vert noiratre avec Epidote veir Clair de la filiae | 39 Granite de l'eguille du Géant a gros grins |
| 7 Granite avec Schlorite de la parsee | 40 Touta fait blanc a petit grains du Géant |
| 8 Amiante de l'eguille du Gouté | 41 Granite gris avec des grandes tache blanche de l'eguille noire |
| 9 Ardorse du Tour | 42 Granite a quartz rougeâtre du Tacul |
| 10 Granite rouge du Col décuel | 43 Granite avec tralide de la grande jorasse |
| 11 Asbeste Corsaine, C. ou Cuir de montagne de la fontaine de Cailles | 44 De la petit jorasse |
| 12 Formation des granite du montenver d'écris par M. de Saussure | 45 Quartz j'aunatre de l'Eguille des l'echaud |
| 13 Substance verte de vaudagne | 46 Granite qui se de Compose des Courte |
| 14 Gyps. dur blanc Salin de la Gria | 47 Granite Blanc jaunatre du Couver Cle |
| 15 Antracite du Conpau | 48 Granite gris du Ta lefre |
| 16 Spath pesant de St Marie au fouilly | 49 Granite a quartz jaune de l'eguille du dru |
| 17 Spath Calcaire en masse de l'Eguille du gouté | 50 Petrosilex de L'eguille du pland |
| 18 Quartz rose des montez | 51 Granite a fin grins de L'eguille d'a jentière |
| 19 Grès à quartz rose des chavant | 52 Granite a quartz a noyaux de l'eguille du Tour |
| 20 Spath Calcaire du grand Bois | 53 Poud'inque Schisteux d'arjentiere |
| 21 Tuf. du dit | 54 Granite a gros feldspath rose de Pormenaz |
| 22 Tourmaline avec mica Blanc de la Griae | 55 Petrosilex micacée du montenver |
| 23 Quartz rougeâtre de la montagne du Planet | 56 Granite rouge du Brevant |
| 24 Prenite Conphalite de la montagne de la Cote | 57 Pierre Calcaire des lines |
| 25 Espece de pierre de Corne du dit | 58 Gyps. de la Griae |
| 26 Blende en masse de la sourde | 59 Tuf. du Biolet |
| 27 Granite noir avec tourmaline du pied du gouté | 60 Serpentine talqueuse de la filiae |
| 28 Schorl en masse a petit grains du dit | 61 Jaspe de St Gervais |
| 29 Granite de la van dernier roche du Somet du Mon-blanc | 62 Plombazine du Nan du Grepont |
| 30 Granite avec pierre de Corne du Somet du Mon-blanc | 63 Asbeste du n'an du fouilly |
| 31 De la montagne des fours | 64 Mica noir en masse de la filiae |
| 32 Granite blanc gris rougeatre de mon Maudit | 65 Mine de fer des Barrat |
| 33 Granite gneiss gris brun de l'aiguille du Midy | 66 Variété du dit |
| | 67 Serpentine du re du Glacier des Bossons |
| | 68 Schorl verd du Glacier des Bossons |

** The orthography is retained of the curious foreign list which accompanied them.*

- 69 Talque en masse du montever on le brouve au Lac Cornu
 70 Schorl ver du Lac Cornu
 71 Granite moucheté de Talque Noir du Brevant
 72 Variété du dit a petites pailletes
 73 Spath feuilleté avec quartz Christalise de l'eguille du gouté
 74 Schiste quarteux avec pirite de la montagne du Planet
 75 Quartz strie du Bûet
 76 Fleur de peches a petit grains du Bûet
 77 Quartz avec beau coups de pirites de St Marie, au fouilly
 78 Grenas du Lac Cornu
 79 Cristal de roche ordinaire
 80 Très micacée quelque fois avec Tourmaline du Brevant

II. A Donation from Lieutenant HARRIS, Royal Staff Corps, of Specimens peculiar to Canada ; viz.

- Hyperstein in Quartz and Feldspar, from Grenville, Ottawa
 Red Oxide of Zinc with Franklinite, Stirling, New Jersey
 Potatite, York, West Canada
 Tabular Spar, Montreal
 Sahlite, Grenville, Ottawa
 Tabular Spar, do. do.
 Tabular Calx of Lime, Lake Superior, North Shore
 Tabular Spar, with grains of Colophonite and Coccolate, Lake George
 Green Coccolite, containing Graphite, Grenville, Ottawa
 Tremolite, do.
 Acicular Sulphate of Strontian, do.
 Lamellar Pyrorene, of the variety called Mussite, Grenville, Ottawa

III. A Cabinet purchased in Edinburgh by the SOCIETY, of which the following is a Catalogue, arranged according to the System of Professor Jameson :—

- I. DIAMOND FAMILY.
 1 Diamond
- II. ZIRCON FAMILY.
 2—3 Zircon, Ceylon
 4—5 do. Norway
 6—7 do. do.
 8 Hyacinth, Ceylon
- III. RUBY FAMILY.
 9 Automalite (Crystals of), Sweden
 10 do. in Talc Slate do.
 11 Ceylanite, Monte Somma
- 12—13 Spinel, Ceylon
 14 Sapphire, do.
 15 Emery Stone, Saxony
 16 Corundum, China
 17 Chrysoberyl, Brazil
- IV. SCHORL FAMILY.
 18—19 Topaz, Brazil
 20 Scotch Topaz, Aberdeenshire
 21 Schorlite, Saxony
 22 Emerald, Salzburgh
 23—24 Beryl, Siberia
 25 Green Tourmaline, Catherinburgh
 26 Red do. or Rubellite, Brazil
 27 Black do. Norway
 28 Common Schorl, do.
 29 Common Schorl in Quartz, Greenland
 30—37 Schorl, with Quartz, Felspar, &c. Norway
 38 Compact Epidote, Norway
 39—53 Crystallized do. do.
 54—56 Axinite, do.
 57 do. France
- V. GARNET FAMILY.
 58 Leucite, Naples
 59 do. in Lava, Naples
 60 do. Norway
 61 do. with Needle Stone, Norway
 62 Vesuvian, Naples
 63 Melanite, do.
 64 do. with Ceylanite, Nepheline, &c. Naples
 65—67 Allochroite, Norway
 68—83 Varieties of precious Garnet, Norway
 84—91 Colophonite, (Granular Garnet) Norway
 92—95 Massive Garnet, Norway
 96—110 Varieties of Common Garnet, Norway
 111 Grenatite, Tyrol
 112—114 Pyrope, Bohemia
 115—117 do. Greenland
 118—119 Cinnamon Stone, Ceylon
- VI. QUARTZ FAMILY.
 120—130 Amethyst, Siberia
 131—132 Fibrous do. Iceland
 133 Rock Crystal, St Gothard
 134—137 do. Norway
 138 do. with Epidote, Norway
 139—140 do. with Oxide of Iron, Bornholm
 141 Rock Crystal, Greenland
 142 do. with Chlorite, St Gothard
 143—145 do. Hungary
 146 do. (Cairngorum), Aberdeenshire
 147—148 do. (double-pointed), Hungary
 149—150 do. (Topaz coloured), Brazil
 151 Rock Crystal with Schorl, Russia
 152 do. (cut and polished) do.
 153 Rose Quartz, Bavaria
 154—156 Milk Quartz, Greenland
 157—169 Common Quartz, do.
 160—163 do. Norway
 164—166 do. Bornholm
 167 Quartz in Calc Spar, Iceland
 168—169 do. on Calcedony do.
 170 Quartz covering Blende, Norway
 171—172 do. on Green Stone, do.
 173 do. on Calc Spar, Greenland

- 174 Quartz (Stalactical), Greenland
 175 do. with Arsenical Pyrites, Norway
 176—180 Various Quartz, Greenland
 181 Quartz coloured by Iron, Siberia
 182 do. with Galena and Green Copper, Siberia
 183 do. Cellular (Bhar Stone,) Rouen
 184 do. do. Hungary
 185 do. on Iron Stone, England
 186 do. with Pearl Sinter, do.
 187 Iron Flint, Altenburgh
 188—189 Hornstone, Iceland
 190—191 do. Saxony
 192—197 Woodstone, Saxony
 198 do. Ireland
 199 Flinty Slate, Norway
 200—202 Flint, Egypt
 203—205 do. Iceland
 206 do. Italy
 207—208 do. Holstein
 209 do. (Pudding Stone,) England
 210 Polished Calcedony, Hungary
 211—223 Various Calcedonies, Iceland
 224—233 do. do. Færoe
 234—235 Calcedony, Hungary
 236 do. Færoe
 237 do. with Green Earth, Iceland
 238—239 Carnelian, East Indies
 240—243 Common Siliceous Sinter, Iceland
 244 Opaline Siliceous Sinter, Iceland
 245—246 Pearl Sinter, Santa Fiora
 247 Precious Opal, Hungary
 248 Fire Opal, do.
 249—253 Common Opal, Iceland
 254—257 do. do. Færoe
 258—261 Jasper Opal, Iceland
 262 Wood Opal, Hungary
 263—264 Menilite, France
 265 Red Egyptian Jasper
 266 Brown do. do.
 267 Striped Jasper, Egypt
 268 Porcelain Jasper, Bohemia
 269—272 Common Jasper, Iceland
 273—276 do. do. Haddingtonshire
 277—279 Green Jasper, Iceland
 280—282 Agate Jasper, do.
 283—286 Agate, Germany
- VII. PITCHSTONE FAMILY.
- 287—290 Obsidian, Iceland
 291—294 do. Færoe
 295 Obsidian in Porphyry, Hungary
 296 Pitchstone, Saxony
 297—299 do. Iceland
 300—302 Porphyritic Pitchstone, Arran
 303 Pitchstone, with Quartz and Felspar, Arran
 304 Pearl Stone, Hungary

- 305—307 Pumice, Italy
- VIII. ZEOLITE FAMILY.
- 308—310 Prehnite, Renfrewshire
 311—312 do. Dunbartonshire
 313 Mealy Zeolite, Iceland
 314—315 Compact do. Færoe
 316—318 Fibrous do. do.
 319—322 do. do. Iceland
 323—326 Needle do. do.
 327 do. do. Scotland
 328 do. with Cubizite, Scotland
 329—332 Radiated do. Færoe
 333 do. do. in Trap Rock, Skye
 334—339
 340 Foliated Cubizite, Iceland
 341—347 do. do. Færoe
 348—351 do. Red do. Dunbartonshire
 352 do. do. do. Iceland
 353 Apophyllite, Iceland
 354 Cubicite, Iceland
 355 do. Dunbartonshire
 356 Chabasite
 357 Cross Stone, Norway
 358 do. Hartz
 359 Laumonite, Færoe
 360 Natrolite, Wurtemberg
 361 Wavellite, Devonshire
- IX. AZURESTONE FAMILY.
- 362 Azurestone, Siberia
 363 Aurit, Stiria
 364 Blue Spar, Stiria.
- X. FELSPAR FAMILY.
- 365 Andalusite, Aberdeenshire
 366 Chrastolite, in Clay-slate, Cumberland
 367 Adularia, St Gothard
 368 do. with Pyrites, Norway
 369 do. with Quartz, &c. Norway
 370 Glassy Felspar with Hornblende, Norway
 371—373 Labrador Felspar, Labrador
 374—376 do. do. Norway
 377—382 Fresh common Felspar, Norway
 383 Green Felspar, Siberia
 384—388 Common Felspar, Norway
 389 do. do. Greenland
 390—391 do. do. Aberdeenshire
 392 Compact Felspar, Edinburghshire
 393 Spodumene with Hornblende, Sweden
 394 do. with Black Mica, Sweden
 395—402 Radiated Scapolite, Norway
 403 do. with Augite do.
 404—405 Foliated Scapolite, Norway
 406—410 Compact do. do.
 411—412 do. Red do. do.
 413—416 Radiated Red do. do.
 417 Meionite, &c. Monte Somma
 418 Nepheline with Mica, &c. do.

XI. CLAY FAMILY.

- 419 Alum Stone, Tolga
 420 do. Hungary
 421 Porcelain Earth, China
 422 do. Saxony
 423 Earthy Potters Clay, do.
 424—425 do. do. Bornholm
 426 do. do. England
 427 Common Clay, Bornholm
 428 Slate Clay, do.
 429 Adhesive Slate, do.

XII. CLAY SLATE FAMILY.

- 430 Alum Slate, Bornholm
 431 Glossy Alum Slate do.
 432—433 Bituminous Shale, Bohemia
 434 do. do. England
 435 Drawing Slate, Saxony
 436 Whet Slate do.
 437 Clay Slate do.
 438 do. do.
 439 do. England
 440 do. Argyleshire

XIII. MICA FAMILY.

- 441—444 Lepidolite, Moravia
 445 Mica with Quartz, Greenland
 446 do. with do. and Iron, Norway
 447 Black Mica with Augite, &c. do.
 448 do. with Quartz, Tyrol
 449 Mica, Russia
 450—452 Mica, Sweden
 453 Mica, Norway
 454 Mica Slate, Sweden
 455—460 do. Norway
 461 Earthy Chlorite, do.
 462 Common do. Saxony
 463—464 Chlorite Slate, do.

XIV. LITHOMARGE FAMILY.

- 465 Green Earth, Iceland
 466 do. Verona
 467 do. with Zeolite, Færoe
 468 Friable Pimelite, Silesia
 469—470 Lithomarge, Saxony
 471 Mountain Soap in Trap, Isle of Skye

XV. SOAPSTONE FAMILY.

- 472 Meerschau, Natolia
 473 Bole, Silesia
 474 Sphragide or Lemnian Earth, Isle of Lemnos
 475 Fullers Earth, Bavaria
 476—477 Soap Stone, Bareuth
 478 Soap Stone, Saxony
 479—480 Figure Stone, China

XVI. TALC FAMILY.

- 481 Axe Stone, New Zealand
 482 Common Serpentine, Bohemia
 483 do. do. Salzburgh
 484 do. do. Zobnitz

- 485—492 Common Serpentine, Saxony
 493 do. do. Banffshire
 494 Precious Serpentine, Sweden
 495 Potstone, Sweden
 496 Talc, Saxony
 497 Indurated Talc, Sweden
 498 do. do. Tyrol
 499 Nacrite, Freyburgh
 500 Rock Cork, Sweden
 501 do. Norway
 502 do. with Slate Spar, Norway
 503—505 Amianth, Russia
 506—508 Amianth, Sweden
 509 Common Asbestos, Russia
 510—513 do. Sweden
 514—516 do. Salzburgh
 517—518 Rock Wood, Tyrol

XVII. HORNBLLENDE FAMILY.

- 519—524 Common Hornblende, Norway
 525—530 do. do. Sweden
 531—534 Hornblende Slate, Norway
 535 Basaltic Hornblende in Porphyry, Spain
 536—539 Asbestous Actionolite, Norway
 540—545 do. do. Sweden
 546 Common Actionolite, Perthshire
 547—548 do. do. Sweden
 549 Granular Actionolite, Hirc
 550 Asbestous Tremolite in Basalt, Castle Rock, Edinburgh
 551—558 Common Tremolite, Sweden
 559 Common Tremolite, Norway
 560—561 Cyanite, Norway
 562—563 Schiller Spar, Hartz
 564 Diallage, Switzerland,
 565 do. with Saussurit, Corsica
 566—567 Anthophyllite, Norway
 568 do. with Hornblende, Norway
 569 Hyperstone, Coast of Labrador

XVIII. CHRYSOLITE FAMILY.

- 570—574 Sahlite, Norway
 575 do. Sweden
 576—584 Crystals of Augite, Norway
 585—586 do. do. Bohemia
 587 Augite with Garnet, &c. Norway
 588—589 do. with Hornblende, do.
 590 do. with Hornblende and Garnet, Norway
 591—592 do. with Sahlite, Norway
 593—599 Coccolite, Norway
 600—601 Olivine in Lava, Italy
 602 Luverite, Elba

XIX. BASALT FAMILY.

- 603—604 Basalt, Bohemia
 605—606 do. Norway
 607 Wacké, Edinburgh
 608—612 do. (varieties,) Iceland
 613—615 Clinkstone, Bohemia

- 616 Iron Clay with Zeolite, Færoe
 XX. DOLOMITE FAMILY.
 617 Common Dolomite, St Gothard
 618 Rhomb Spar
 619 Flexible Compact Dolomite, Northumberland
 620 Brown Spar, Lanarkshire
 621 do. with Quartz, Cumberland
 622 do. with Quartz and Blende, Cumberland
 623 do. with Galena and Quartz, Cumberland
 624 do. on Sandstone, England
 625 do do. Norway
 626 do do. Saxony
 XXI. LIMESTONE FAMILY.
 627—629 Slate Spar, Norway
 630 Agaric Mineral, Salzburgh
 631 Fine Marble, Carinthia
 632—633 Shell Limestone, England
 634 Vesuvian Limestone
 635—640 Shell Limestone, Holstein
 641 Madreporite, Edinburghshire
 642—643 Petrified Shells, Lanarkshire
 644 Shell lined with Calc Spar, Iceland
 645 Grey Limestone, Bornholm
 646 Madreporite, England
 647 Grey Limestone, Iceland
 648—650 do. Greenland
 651—653 do. Norway
 654—655 Reddish Limestone, Sweden
 656 Limestone, from Fissures in the Rock of Gibraltar
 657 Roe stone, Thuringia
 658 Parian Marble
 659 Pentelic do.
 660 White do. Tuscany
 661 Tires Red Marble
 662 Iona Marble
 663—665 Glen Tilt Marble
 666 Griotté Marble
 667—668 Calc Spar, England
 669 do. Hartz
 670 do. Lanarkshire
 671—672 do. Bornholm
 673 do. Iceland
 674—676 do. Greenland
 677 do. Saxony
 678—679 do. Norway
 680—681 do. France
 682—683 do. Norway
 684—685 do. Færoe
 686 do. with Zeolite, Færoe
 687 do. on Iron, Cumberland
 688—691 do. Greenland
 692—694 do. Iceland
 695—702 do. Norway
 703—705 do. Sweden
 706—707 Fibrous Limestone, England
 708 do. Sweden
 709 Fibrous Limestone, Stiria
 710—711 Calcareous Alabaster
 712 do. (striped)
 713 Lamellar Calc Sinter, Skye
 714—717 Calc Sinter, Carlsbad in Bohemia
 718—720 Calc Tuff, Saxony
 721 do. Norway
 722 do. Fifeshire
 723 Pea Stone, Carlsbad
 724 Compact Lucullite
 725 Stink Stone, Bornholm
 726 Prismatic Lucullite, Bornholm
 727—729 Foliated do. do.
 730 Earthy Marl, Thuringia
 731 Compact do. France
 732—733 do. Papenheim
 734 Bituminous Marl Slate, Saxony
 735 do. do. Bavaria
 736—737 Arragonite, Lanarkshire
 738 do. Spain
 739 do. Stiria
 XXII. APATITE FAMILY.
 740—750 Apatite (varieties,) Norway
 XXIII. FLUOR FAMILY.
 751 Compact Fluor, Hartz
 752—757 Fluor Spar, England
 758—759 do. Norway
 760—764 do. Saxony
 765—768 do. Sweden
 769 Earthy Fluor, Hungary
 XXIV. GYPSUM FAMILY.
 770 Earthy Gypsum, Holstein
 771 do. Norway
 772—773 Compact Gypsum, Saxony
 774 do. Italy
 775—776 do. Holstein
 777 Fibrous Gypsum, Russia
 778 do. Saxony
 779 do. France
 780 Granular Gypsum, Russia
 781 do. France
 782—784 Foliated Gypsum, do.
 785—787 do. with compact Gypsum, Saxony
 788 Sparry Gypsum, (Selenite,) Saxony
 789 do. Russia
 790—791 do. Norway
 792—793 do. France
 794 Compact Anhydrite, Salzburgh
 795 Fibrous do. Tyrol
 XXV. BORACITE FAMILY.
 796—797 Datolite, Norway
 798 Crystal of Boracite, Luneburgh
 799—800 Boracite, Holstein
 XXVI. BARYTE FAMILY.
 801—802 Witherite, Cumberland
 803—805 Compact Heavy Spar, Norway

- 806 Curved Lamellar Spar, England
 807 Straight do. Hungary
 808—811 do. do. Hartz
 812—817 do. do. Norway
 818 do. do. Sweden
 819—820 do. do. Lanarkshire
 821 Radiated Heavy Spar, Italy
 822 Prismatic do. Hartz
 823—824 Strontianite, Argyleshire
 825 Celestine, Somersetshire
 826 do. Inverness-shire
 827—828 do. Mont Matre, Paris
- XXVII. HALLITE FAMILY.
- 829 Cryolite, Greenland
 830 do. with Iron, Greenland

INFLAMMABLE MINERALS.

I. SULPHUR FAMILY.

- 831—832 Common Sulphur, Spain
 833—837 Volcanic do. Vesuvius

II. BITUMINOUS FAMILY.

- 838 Mineral Pitch on Limestone
 839—840 do. in Limestone, Sweden
 841 Slaggy Mineral Pitch, Hartz
 842 Elastic do. Derbyshire
 843 Brown Coal, Faeroe
 844 do. Sweden
 845—847 Bituminous Wood, Iceland
 848—849 Earthy Brown Coal, Saxony
 850 Pitch Coal or Jet, East Indies
 851—852 Slate Coal, Bohemia
 853 Cannel Coal, England
 854 Foliated Coal, Silesia

III. GRAPHITE FAMILY.

- 855 Conchoidal Glance Coal
 856 Slaty do. Schemnitz
 857 Scaly Graphite, Norway
 858 do. Bavaria
 859 do. Iceland
 860 do. Salzburgh
 861 do. Ayrshire
 862 Compact Graphite, Cumberland
 863 Mineral Charcoal, Iceland

IV. RESIN FAMILY.

- 864 White Amber, Prussia
 865—867 Yellow Amber, do.
 868 Reddish Amber, do.

METALLIC MINERALS.

I. PLATINA.

- 869 Platina, Brazil

II. GOLD.

- 870 Native Gold, Hungary

III. MERCURY.

- 871 Compact Mercurial Hepatic Ore, Idna
 872 do. do. Almaden
 873 Cinnabar, Almaden
 874 Bright Red Cinnabar, Hungary

IV. SILVER.

- 875 Native Silver, Norway
 876—878 do. with Calc Spar and Pyrites, Saxony
 879—882 do. with Grey Silver Ore, Siberia
 883 Grey Silver Ore, Siberia
 884 do. with Copper, Siberia
 885 Arsenical Silver Ore, Hungary
 886 Red Silver Ore, Saxony

V. COPPER.

- 887 Native Copper, Siberia
 888—892 Native Copper in the Matrix, Siberia
 893—894 Compact Copper Glance, Norway
 895—896 do. do. Siberia
 897 Foliated Copper Glance, Norway
 898—907 Variegated Copper Ore, Norway
 908—910 Copper Pyrites, Norway
 911—915 do. Saxony
 916 do. England
 917 do. with Copper Green, Hartz
 918—919 Grey Copper, Saxony
 920 do. Hartz
 921 Red Copper, Norway
 922—923 Azure Copper, Siberia
 924—925 do. Lanarkshire
 926—928 do. Norway
 929—932 Fibrous Malachite, Siberia
 933—934 do. do. Hartz
 935—939 Compact Malachite, Siberia
 940—943 Copper Green, Zinwald
 944—947 Iron Shot Copper Green, Saxony

VI. IRON.

- 948—952 Common Pyrites, Sweden
 953—956 do. Saxony
 957—960 do. Norway
 961—965 Radiated Pyrites, Norway
 966 Hepatic or Liver Pyrites, Bohemia
 967 Magnetic Pyrites, Sweden
 968—970 do. Norway
 971—976 Magnetic Ironstone, Sweden
 977—983 do. do. Norway
 984 Iron Sand, Norway
 985 Common Iron Glance, Norway
 986 do. do. Sweden
 987—989 do. do. Elba
 990—993 Iron Mica, Norway
 994—997 do. Hartz
 998—1000 do. Sweden
 1001 Compact Red Ironstone, Sweden
 1002—1003 do. do. Norway
 1004 do. do. with Quartz, Norway

- 1005—1006 Fibrous Red Iron Stone, Bereuth
 1007—1008 Compact Brown Iron Stone, Nassau
 1009—1010 Brown Hematite, Iberg
 1011—1013 do. Edinburgh
 1014 do. Stiria
 1015 do. Cumberland
 1016 do. Zetland
 1017 do. Franconia
 1018—1019 Umber, Cyprus
 1020 Sparry Iron Stone, Hartz
 1021—1022 do. Norway
 1023 do. Sweden
 1024 do. Franconia
 1025 Reddle, Saxony
 1026 Columnar Clay Iron Stone, Bohemia
 1027 Common Clay Iron Stone, Færoe
 1028 do. do. England
 1029 Reniform do. England
 1030 Pisiform do. Franconia
 1031 Friable Bog Iron Ore, Sweden
 1032 Indurated do. Sweden
 1033 do. with Brown Hematite, Sweden
 1034 Chromate of Iron, Stiria
 1035 Crystals of Arseniate of Iron, Sweden
 1036 Arseniate of Iron, Norway
 1037—1039 do. do. Cornwall
 VII. MANGANESE.
 1040—1042 Fibrous Grey Manganese Ore, Norway
 1043 do. do. with Foliated Grey Manganese Ore,
 Norway
 1044 Foliated Grey Manganese Ore, Norway
 1045—1046 do. do. Saxony
 1047 Compact do. with Fibrous do. Salzburgh
 1048 Compact Grey Manganese Ore, Bareuth
 1049—1050 do. do. with Calc Spar, Norway
 1051 Black Manganese with Fibrous Calc Spar, Nor-
 way
 VIII. TITANIUM.
 1052 Menachinite, Cornwall
 1053 Iscrine with Iron Sand, Lancashire
 1054 Common Sphene with Pistacite, Norway
 1055—1057 do. with Augite do. do.
 1058 do. with Calc Spar, &c. do.
 1059 Foliated Sphene, St Gothard
 1060 Iron Stone with Oxide of Titanium, Norway
 1061 Rutile in Quartz, Perthshire
 IX. LEAD.
 1062 Galena or Lead Glance, Lanarkshire
 1063—1064 do. with White Lead, do.
 1065 do. on Quartz, do.
 1066 do. with Cobalt Glance, Silesia
 1067 do. with Quartz, Saxony
 1068 do. with Brown Spar, Saxony
 1069—1070 do. with Pyrites and Quartz, Saxony
 1071—1072 do. with do. Norway
 1073 Compact Galena, Hartz
 1074—1077 Compact Galena, Salzburgh
 1078 do. with White Lead, Hartz
 1079—1082 White Lead Ore, Hungary
 1083—1084 do. do. Hartz
 1085—1086 do. with Galena, Lanarkshire
 1087—1095 Varieties of Crystallized White Lead (Lead
 Hills), Lanarkshire
 1096 Earthy Lead Ore, Silesia
 1097—1099 Phosphate of Lead, Saxony
 1100 Phosphate of Lead on Iron, Siberia
 1101—1104 do. with White Lead, Lanarkshire
 1105 do. on Quartz, Lanarkshire
 1106 do. with Calamine, do.
 1107 Pulverulent Phosphate of Lead, Lanarkshire
 1108 Molybdate of Lead, Blerburg
 1109 do. do. Tyrol
 1110 Crystals of Chromate of Lead, Siberia
 1111 do. with Quartz, Siberia
 X. ZINC.
 1112—1114 Electric Calamine, Lanarkshire
 1115 Sparry Calamine, England
 1116—1118 Compact do. do.
 1119—1121 do. do. Hungary
 1122 do. with Galena, Hungary
 1123 Yellow Blende, Norway
 1124—1125 Brown Blende on Quartz, Norway
 1126—1128 do. with Galena, Saxony
 1129—1130 Compact Brown Blende, Saxony
 1131—1132 Black Blende with Pyrites, Hungary
 1133 do. on Quartz, Hartz
 1134 do. on Mica Slate, do.
 1135 do. on Brown Spar, do.
 1136—1137 do. with Quartz, do.
 1138—1139 do. Cumberland
 XI. TIN.
 1140—1141 Tin Pyrites, Cornwall
 1142—1145 Tin Stone, Bohemia
 1146—1149 do. Cornwall
 XII. BISMUTH.
 1150 Native Bismuth, Saxony
 1151 Bismuth Ochre, do.
 XIII. TELLURIUM. (None)
 XIV. ANTIMONY.
 1152 Native Antimony, Dauphiny
 1153—1154 Grey Antimony, Hungary
 1155 Radiated do. Dumfries-shire
 1156 Plumose do. Hartz
 1157 Red Antimony Ore, Saxony
 1158 Antimony Ochre, Bohemia
 XV. MOLYBDENA.
 1159—1160 Molybdena in Quartz, Norway
 1161—1162 do. do. Bohemia
 1163 Molybdena, Sweden
 XVI. COBALT.
 1164—1165 White Cobalt Ore, Norway
 1166—1167 Grey Cobalt Ore, Norway

- 1168—1172 Cobalt Glance, Saxony
 1173—1174 Yellow Cobalt Ochre, Saxony
 1175—1177 Red Cobalt Ochre, do.
 1178 do. with Cobalt Glance, do.
 1179 do. with Grey Silver, Sirlingshire

XVII. NICKEL.

- 1180 Nickel Ochre, Saxony

XVIII. ARSENIC.

- 1181 Common Arsenical Pyrites, Bohemia
 1182 Argentiferous do. Freyberg
 1183 Red Orpiment in Dolomite, St Gothard
 1184 do. with Blende Hapnie

XIX. TUNGSTEN.

- 1185 Tungsten, Saxony
 1186 Wolfram, Cornwall

XX. URANIUM.

- 1187 Pitch Ore

XXI. TANTALUM.

- 1188 Tantalite, Bavaria
 1189 Ytrotantalite, Sweden
 1190 Gadolinite, do.

XXII. CERIUM.

- 1191 Cerite, Sweden
 1192—1200 Lavas, Italy

IV. Ninety-one Specimens added to this Collection by Colonel IMRIE, at the request of Lord GRAY. The first thirty-one of them are from Greece, and were collected by himself during his residence in that country.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 Porphyry, found among the ruins of Athens | 47—48 Blende with Quartz, Cumberland |
| 2 Pentelic Marble, Mount Penteli | 49—50 Celestine, Bristol |
| 3 Gneis from near do. | |
| 4 Sparry Iron Ore, Laurium Hills | |
| 5 Lead, &c. &c. do. | 51—56 Strontian, Argyleshire |
| 6 Marble, N. E. of Attica | 57 Zoisit, Glen Elg, Inverness-shire |
| 7 do. Mount Hymettus | 58 Andalusite, Aberdeenshire |
| 8 Mica Slate with Garnets, Hills of Marathon | 59—60 Garnet Rock, near Huntly, Aberdeenshire |
| 9 Gneis from near Marathon | 61 Tremolite with Garnet, do. |
| 10 Calc Spar, from Paris Cave at Marathon | 62 Fluor Spar, do. |
| 11 Marble, Mount Helicon | 63—66 Varieties of Actionolite do. |
| 12 Calc Spar, do. | 67 Schorl with Mica do. |
| 13 Limestone, Mount Parnassus | 68 Cyanite, Grampian Hills |
| 14 Porphyry, found among the ruins of Corinth | 69 Red Zeolite, Kincardineshire |
| 15 do. do. of Isthmus of do. | 70 Cubicite, do. |
| 16 Primitive Green Stone, Mount Athos | 71 Prehnite, Dunbartonshire |
| 17 Marble do. do. | 72 Galena, Lead Hills, Lanarkshire |
| 18 Cyanite do. do. | |
| 19 Marble do. do. | |
| 20 Marble do. do. | |
| 21 Gneis do. do. | |
| 22 Limestone, Cassandra near do. | |
| 23 Limestone, do. | |
| 24—25 Parian Marble, Island of Paros | |
| 26 Cimolian Earth, Island of Argentina | |
| 27 Portion of the rock of do. | |
| 28 Manganese, do. | |
| 29 Portion of the rock of Salamis | |
| 30—31 Marble from the Island of Naxos | |
| 32—46 Various Fluor Spars, England | |
| | 57—60 Garnet Rock, near Huntly, Aberdeenshire |
| | 61 Tremolite with Garnet, do. |
| | 62 Fluor Spar, do. |
| | 63—66 Varieties of Actionolite do. |
| | 67 Schorl with Mica do. |
| | 68 Cyanite, Grampian Hills |
| | 69 Red Zeolite, Kincardineshire |
| | 70 Cubicite, do. |
| | 71 Prehnite, Dunbartonshire |
| | 72 Galena, Lead Hills, Lanarkshire |

The following are from Greenland, and are extremely rare.

- 73 Cryolite
 74 Blue Quartz with Garnet
 75 Garnet Rock
 76 Carbonate of Copper with Quartz
 77—79 Felspar with Augite
 80 Cryolite with Sparry Iron Ore and Pyrites
 81 Granular Felspar with precious Garnet and Augite
 82 Sodalite with Green Garnets
 83 Apatite upon Augite
 84—88 Sahlite, Garnet, and Augite
 89—91 Sahlite with Augite

Antiques.

	<i>Donors.</i>
1785 ROMAN WEAPON Druidical Sacrificing Knife Archbishop Sharp's (of St Andrews) Drinking Glass, presented by Mr Richard Davidson, who had received it from Lady Killbrackment, being all that her family received from the Archbishop for £1000 due to them Head of a Roman Warrior carved on a piece of bone, found among rubbish in the Castle gable, Perth Roman Sword found in the river Forth, with a piece of a Human Skull attached to it	Mr Oliphant, Gask Mr Gillies Mr R. Davidson Mr Rutherford Mr Coldstream, Crieff
1786 Set of Instruments (supposed) for Extracting Teeth, found in 1773 in the Blackfriars Garden, about six feet below the surface, among a quantity of bones	Mr Brown, Printer
1787 Ivory Crucifix, carved in basso relievo, found in the ground near the old Church at Dundee Brass Key found in digging a foundation for a new wall in St Catharine's Aisle, in the Middle Church, Perth	Mr David Wise, Dundee Mr Alison, Dean of Guild
1806 Earthen Pot found in taking down Gowrie House Stone Cup found at Glencairn	Provost Marshall Mr Hunter
1811 Ring found in a garden at Methven Scottish Brass Gorget	Rev. Mr Dowe Dr Gillies
1812 Part of a Battle-ax, found by Mr Sandeman of Luncarty, in one of the Tumuli there	Earl of Kinnoull
1814 Several Ancient Weapons found in the parks of Dupplin, six feet under ground Hand of a Monumental Statue, found in digging for a foundation to the County Buildings in Gowrie ground	Earl of Kinnoull Mr Alexander
1821 Terra Cotta Vases and Lachrymatories, found in Tumuli in the Greek Islands	Capt. Robertson of Carie
1822 Massy Silver Marriage Ring, found on the site of the College of Dull	The Secretary
1824 Sepulchral Urn found at Pitcur Sepulchral Urn found at Craigend, in pieces	Mr Murray of Lintrose Sir D. Moncrieffe
1826 Do. found at Staaley	Mr Craig
1826 Marbles from Persepolis, &c. viz. Black and Light-coloured Marble from the Palace at Persepolis Fragment from Cyrus' Tomb at Pasagarda Fragment from a ruined Palace near the Tomb	Dr Riach

The following Marbles have also been procured by the SOCIETY :—

- Various Foreign Marbles
- Fragment of the Marble of the Temple of Serapis, in the Bay of Naples
- Fragments from the Piscina Mirabile
- Amphitheatre at Rome

MISCELLANEOUS

Antiquities and Curiosities.

- Donors.*
- Mr Gillies 1785 THREAD and Cloth from Otaheite
- Mrs Scott The Creed, Commandments, Lord's Prayer, &c. &c. written in 1694, within the compass of a square inch
- Earl of Buchan Portrait of the Earl of Buchan, with this inscription ; " I give this Portrait by Alexander Runciman, to the Society of the Antiquaries of Perth ; and, as a mark of regard, I have caused it to be placed in a Frame made of Scottish Fir, inlaid with Holly Tree of the same, and finereed with the Oak which sheltered the great Sir William Wallace in the Tor-wood. That tree, which was forty-seven feet in circumference, is now gone to decay.—*Buchan.*"
- Provost Marshall Model of the *Lewis* for raising stones
- Mr Campbell A Cabinet of Chinese Workmanship, purchased in London in 1685 by Captain Austin of Kilspindie
- Rev. Mr Foote Pictures of a Man aged 131, and a Woman aged 112
- Lady R. Drummond 1787 Ancient Horn belonging to the Family of Perth
- Mr M'Omie Picture of John Steele, aged 109
- Mr Gillies Drawing of a Skian or Druid's Scythe, found in Limerick
- Mr Peebles Drawings and Casts of various Seals
- General Hutton do. do. do.
- Dr Scrimmer, London Fragment of the Oak of the Ship Caledonia, wrecked at Perth Amboy when sent out on the Darien Expedition. This piece had been about one hundred years under water, and, with the exception of some holes perforated by marine animals, is still quite sound
- W. Glog, Esq. 1804 Chair made in 1698
- Captain James Ross Matchlock taken from the Buzam Nabob at the Battle of Malively
- Captain James Ross Six Arrows taken at the Capture of Seringapatam
- Mr John Peddie 1800 Adair's Map of Strathewen, Stormont, and the Carse of Gowrie
- Mr Coldstream Seal found in the Cathedral of Dunblane, supposed to be that of Archbishop Leighton
- Dr M'Omie Plans of three Encampments, supposed Roman, in Perthshire
- Tho. Peebles, Esq. 1809 Indian Grass Hammock from Mexico
- Dr. Malcom 1811 Grass Cloth from Madagascar
- Mr Adamson Watch Chain made by a Native of Hudson's Bay
- Mr W. Blair 1812 Indian Bowl, Wampum Belt, Indian Silk Bag, Indian Arrows, &c.
- Mr W. Gray Indian Shield
- Mr W. Gray Scottish Shield and Helmet
- Mr M'Lauchlan Dutch Tobacco-Box, found near Fort William
- W. M'Pherson, Esq. 1814 Rope made of the Plantain Tree
- General Hutton Various Impressions of Seals in Plaster of Paris
- The Committee of 1815 Three unadopted Plans for the County Buildings, Perth
- County Gentlemen
- Earl of Kinnoull 1816 Various Warlike Instruments picked up by Lord Kinnoull on the Field of Waterloo
- Mr Deuchar Large Collection of Casts from Seals, &c.
- Mr Deuchar Cast of the Exchequer Seal of Scotland
- Mr R. Morison, Stone from Cuba, supposed the Head of a Hatchet
- Cuba
- Rev. Mr M'Farlan 1818 Stone Hatchet from Niagara
- Captain Moncrieff 1821 Indian Dagger
- Mr William Blair Model of a Canadian Roof

	<i>Donors.</i>
1821 Admission Ticket to the Coronation of George IV. with Newspapers giving account of the Coronation	Mr Glong
1822 Curious Salver, from the Church of Caputh	Sir A. M. M'Kenzie
Rice Paper made by the Natives of Catmandoo	Capt. M'Gregor
An old and curiously constructed Table Clock	D. G. Sandeman, Esq.
1824 Twenty-five beautifully executed Views of Tombs and Temples in India. Drawn by a Native at Agra	Thomas Ross, Esq.
Esquimaux Canoe	Mr Archer of the Treasury
Esquimaux Boot and Shoe, and Hair of the Musk Ox, Melville Island	Capt. Peebles
Indian Purse	Mrs Butter
Arquebuss found at Sheriff Muir	Mr Mathews
Curious Clasp found along with a Skeleton at North Uist	Mr M'Donald
Earliest issued Perth Bank Note	H. Lindsay, Esq.
Plan of Dunkeld Bridge	Mr J. C. Blair
Table for the Museum	Mr Ballingal
Arctic Sword and Tuak	Mr John Frazer
Cloth of the Bark of Trees	Mr Gentle
Indian Creease	Mr Marshall
1825 Specimen of Burman Holy Writing on the leaf of a Tree	Col. Mark Howard
Four Burmese Idols, in gold, silver, marble, and brass	Dr John Ogilvie
Burmese Soldier's and Malay Caps	do.
Indian Bows and Arrows	do.
Fac-simile of the Death-warrant of Charles I.	Capt. Stuart
Head of a New Zealand Chief in fine preservation, Tattooed	Mr James Ramsay
Two Assagys or African Spears	Mr Thomas
Three Chiefs Paddles from the South Sea, richly and beautifully carved	Dr John Ogilvie
1826 Sword found at Prestonpans	Mr Jas. Christie
Ancient Pistol	Capt. Moncrieff
Crossbow of a peculiar construction, with a lever for tightening the string, found in a marl-pit some miles west of Perth	Mr Jas. Christie
Ancient Urn	Baillie Ross
Ivory Leaves, with Writings in Gold in the ancient Pali Language, and three small Burmese Idols	Mr M'Kenzie, Cal- cutta
Highland Purse, found on the Field of Culloden	Mr M'Dougall
An Armenian Cap	Mr H. Campbell
Brass Chandelier from the Middle Church, supposed to have hung in the ancient Cathedral of St John in Perth. It has at the top a figure of the Virgin, well executed	
Dagger found among rubbish in Holyrood Abbey	Capt. Moncrieff
Lithographic Fac-similes of the Letters of the American Presidents on the opening of the great Canal from New York to Lake Erie	Chas. Rhind, Esq. New York
Medal struck on the same occasion, inclosed in a Box made out of a piece of Maple brought from Lake Erie in the first Canal Boat	do.
View of the Procession on the same occasion	do.
Three Burmese Idols	Captain Mathew
Model of the Break-water at Plymouth, cut in Marble	Jas. M'Laren, Esq.
Pair of Eastern Slippers, richly wrought with gold and other ornaments	do.
American Indian Shot-bag	do.
South American Indian's Quaick, for holding Fish, &c.	W. M'Pherson, Esq.
Apron, &c.	do.
Waree, or Fan and Whip	do.
Toasts and Sentiments given by ROBERT BURNS at Convivial Meetings, in his own hand-writing, on a few leaves of paper sewed in the form of a little volume, which he carried in his pocket	Captain Stewart of Crossmount

REPORT
OF THE
COUNCIL OF MANAGEMENT
OF THE
Literary & Antiquarian Society of Perth,
TO THE
GENERAL MEETING,
Held on Thursday, 22d November, 1827.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF KINNOULL,
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY, IN THE CHAIR.

SINCE the Meeting of the Society in 1826, the preliminary volume of the Transactions, then suggested to the notice of the Council, has been compiled and printed under the superintendence of the Secretary. That Publication has taken place too recently, to allow the Council to judge of its reception, generally; but it gives them pleasure to report, that, after paying the expenses of the volume, there will probably be a small surplus to add to the funds of the Society.

The Council refer, with satisfaction, to the increasing correspondence with other Institutions, the Members of which are associated for Literary purposes. In the List of Donations during the last year, are several works from the Societies of Antiquaries at Newcastle, Edinburgh, and Inverness,—also from the Bannatyne Club. Such Donations will be received with plea-

sure, not only as indications of the advance of antiquarian research, but as proofs of the good understanding and friendly relations subsisting between Societies, from whose collision, in the course of their labours in the same path, the very opposite consequences were at one time anticipated. The Council have no doubt that the General Meeting will approve of their having sent copies of the Transactions of the Perth Society to the Institutions above named.

The Council have much pleasure in calling the attention of the Meeting to the number and value of the Donations which have been made to the Society since they last met, of which the following is a condensed account.

I. BOOKS, &c.

Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Hallhill, printed in a very elegant manner in 4to, from the Original MS. by the Bannatyne Club. Presented by the Members of the Club.

Myln's Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld, printed by the Bannatyne Club from the Original Latin MS. Presented by George Smythe, Esq. Advocate.

Translation of Myln's Lives, in MS. about a century old. Presented by Dr Stewart of Bonskeid.

From this MS. the article under that name, in the volume of the Society's Transactions, was printed.

Pignorius de Servis,—from Thomas Ogilvie, Esq.

Inquiry into the Union, from do.

Macis Macerata, a curious old Medical Work, from the same Gentleman.

Works of the King of Prussia, 13 vols. 8vo. Presented by John Miller, Esq. City Clerk.

A splendid Copy of Dr Hunter's History of London, from the same Gentleman.

A Part of the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. From the Society.

Prize Essay on the State of Knowledge in the Highlands, by John Anderson, Esq. W. S. Presented by the Secretary and Council of the Northern Institution.

Catalogue of the Kinnaid Library, Written and Lithographed in folio, by Mr Morison, jun. handsomely bound. Presented by Mr Morison, by permission of Lord Kinnaid.

II. COINS, &c.

Gold of Robert III. of Scotland, from Mr M'Gregor.

A Dombadinia or Kandy Challie, got from under a tree known to be from 200 to 300 years old.

As no independent Prince has reigned in Dombadinia for 800 years, this coin, covered with supposed Sanscrit Characters, is thought to be of that age. It was received from Simon Sawers, Esq. late Judicial Commissioner in Kandy, and presented in the name of Dr W. M'Omish, by Bailie Ross.

A Gourdain of Hayti, with the Head of President J. P. Boyer. From Mr Joseph Maunder.

Shilling of Charles I., and Sixpence of Elizabeth, from George Stewart, Esq. Murthly.

Shillings of Elizabeth, from General Stewart of Garth.

A Silver Penny of one of the Earls of Flanders, from Mr James Thomas.

Copper Coin of Charles, found in the Foundation of the Old Church. From Mr Crow.

Penny of Edward I., found at Bambricth, from Provost Ross.

III. SPECIMENS OF NATURAL HISTORY.

From Colonel Paterson,—various.

From Thomas Dumbreck, Esq. do.

From Mr Fenton, do.

From Mr Sandeman, do.

From Mr M'Nab of Arthurstone, do.

From Mr Smeaton, Breadalbane, do.

From Miss Craigie of Glendoick, a number of rare and beautiful Entomological Specimens.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS CURIOSITIES AND ANTIQUITIES.

A MS. Copy of a Proclamation of James VII., dated Rome, 10th June 1720,—hitherto unpublished. From Mr Thomas Luke.

Toasts and Sentiments of Robert Burns, in his own Handwriting. From Captain Stewart, Crossmount.

A Note of the Bank of Scotland, 1750—Promising to pay it Six Months after being presented, with interest. Presented by Lawrence Robertson, Esq.

Lithographic Fac Similes of the Letters of the American President on the opening of the great Canal from New York to Lake Erie, the Medal struck on that occasion, and other Memoranda of that great Transatlantic Enterprise. From Charles Rhind, Esq. New York; brought home by Mr Sandeman Turnbull.

Model in Marble of the Breakwater at Plymouth. From James M'Laren, Esq.

Pair of elegant Eastern Slippers, and an American Indian Shotbag. From James M'Laren, Esq.

A South American Indian Quaich, Apron, Waree, and Whip. Presented by William M'Pherson, Esq.

Three Burmese Idols, from Captain Matthew.

Esquimaux *Reticule*, from John Miller, Esq.

A beautiful Nepaulese Cris. Presented by W. Dawson, Esq.

Curious ancient Turkish or Indian Hook, and a Malay Cap. From Mr Ogilvie.

The Fan of Tippoo Saib, formed of Sandal Wood, and fastened on a handle terminating in the form of a Tiger's Head. Presented by Mr Roy of Bridgend. It had been the property of a Son of Mr Roy, who had procured it in India, and who, a short time previous to his death in London, requested his Parents to present it to the Society.

Cast from a small Bronze Statue of Hercules. Presented by E. W. A. Drummond Hay, Esq. Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The exquisite Bronze from which this Cast was made was found near Nismes, where it was procured by Mr Drummond Hay. The workmanship bespeaks it of the middle and purest age of the Grecian arts.

V. SPECIMENS OF MINERALS.

- From Provost Stewart. Madrepore and Pudding-stone.
 From Thomas Dumbreck, Esq. Lava of Ascension Island.
 From Mr Dick of Ballindean. Curious Formations of Lime.
 From Mr Russel of Demperstone. Rock Cork found imbedded in Whinstone.
 From Robert Graham, Esq. of Broxy. Large and fine Specimen of Fossil Wood.
 From Mr Ogilvie. Collection of Minerals and Petrifications, and a piece of Clay thickly embedded with Shells, taken out of the Thames Tunnel 60 feet below the present bed of the River.
 From the Rev. Mr Grierson, Errol. A large piece of Sandstone taken out of a Quarry near Dumfries, bearing marks as if the feet of an animal had been impressed upon it ere the rock was hardened.

This Specimen was accompanied by a letter from Mr Grierson, describing the circumstances under which it was found, with opinions of Geologists as to its formation.

The preceding Report was read to the Anniversary Meeting of the Society held on the 22d November 1827,

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF KINNOULL IN THE CHAIR,

and was unanimously approved of; and the thanks of the Meeting voted to the Donors of the numerous Presentations.

After the re-election of the Office-bearers, the following Gentlemen were elected Ordinary and Constituent Members of the Society:—

GEORGE PATTON, Esq. Advocate.
 GEORGE MATTHEW, Esq.
 COLONEL GILMORE.
 JOHN MARSHALL, Esq.
 Mr BRUCE, Perth Academy.

The Rev. Mr ESDAILE read an Essay on the Connection between the Progress of the Arts and National Manners.

Dr ANDERSON read an Enquiry into the Nature of Mathematical Reasoning, and its Influence on the Decisions of the Judgment in Cases of Moral Evidence.

Mr DRUMMOND HAY, in presenting the Cast from the Bronze formerly noticed, gave an eloquent Dissertation on the Progress of Greek Sculpture.

REPORT
OF THE
COUNCIL OF MANAGEMENT
OF THE
Literary & Antiquarian Society of Perth,
TO THE
GENERAL MEETING,
Held at Perth on Monday, 24th November, 1828.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD GRAY,
ONE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS, IN THE CHAIR.

IN their Report of last year, the Council stated, that a small sum would probably remain in favour of the funds, after paying the expense attending the publication of the volume of the Transactions. They have the satisfaction now of stating, that that expectation has been realized—that out of the subscriptions, the paper, printing, and other expenses of publication have been paid, and that there remain about £10 of subscriptions uncalled up, which on being received will be paid over to the Treasurer in aid of the general funds. The Council, however, deem it their duty to take this opportunity of stating their regret, that the subscription had not been more general among the Members of the Society. At the same time, their thanks are due to the Earl of Kinnoull, Lord Gray, and the other Noblemen and Gentlemen who came so handsomely forward, and put it in their power not

only to publish a preliminary volume of the Transactions without drawing upon the general fund, but even from that limited subscription, with benefit to the funds. And they are under great obligations to Mr Morison, the Secretary, not only for his own contributions to that volume, but for his gratuitous and laborious services in editing and superintending the publication, as well as drawing up the Catalogue of the Contents of the Museum, which is appended to the Work.

Whatever disappointment may have attended the reception of the volume among the Members of the Society, the Council have the satisfaction of knowing, that the documents therein published are thought of importance, in an historical point of view, by those whose approbation is the highest of all praise in such matters ; and that the Society are considered to have done an acceptable service to the Literature of Scotland by the present Work. In particular they refer, with much gratification, to the following letter addressed to the Secretary by Sir Walter Scott.

(COPY.)

“ SIR,

“ I was greatly obliged and interested by the reception of the proceedings of the Perth Antiquarian Society, more particularly as the researches of the Society seem to have taken a more wide and historical view of their subject than is usual with Institutions of the kind, too often dedicated to petty and puerile objects. I have long wished to see a complete Plan of Gowrie House. Indeed, I have a ground sketch made by an Artillery Officer when it was used as a Barrack for that corps ; but imperfect, owing to the demolition of the memorable turret. The Author of the Sketch has shewn a spirit of moderate and impartial enquiry, which does him great honour ; and his summary has led him to the only rational explanation of that mysterious business, which must certainly have had its rise in some meditated *coup d'état* of Queen Elizabeth. She had found so much convenience in having Mary under lock and key, that she might have thought it not unadvisable to snap up poor James also. The Tay was at hand, and accessible from the garden without noise or observation. Once in a boat, James might have been carried to Fast Castle, an almost impregnable fortalice, and from thence sent to England according to convenience. If the plot is supposed to have been laid by James to get pretence for slaughtering the brothers, it has neither any adequate motive, nor is it at all consistent with the character of a Prince neither cruel nor courageous, to stick himself into such a fray, for the purpose of committing so great a crime. I differ from the learned editor on one point: I do not see that the King or his attendants had the means of seizing the brother Ruthven. When the younger was killed, Ramsay found him in *grips* with the King, and it was surely time for him to use the sharpest and readiest remedy, not knowing how such an act of treason was supported. Again, Gowrie, with six servants, attacked the five attendants of the King, who certainly had no chance of being able to secure a superior number of assailants, or even to protect their own lives, except by repelling violence by violence, and taking the life of Gowrie, whose

fall ended the fray. The whole was a sudden and violent affray, in which the manners of these times, and indeed of our own, authorized the use of weapons in self-defence, and rendered the slaughter of the assailants justifiable homicide.

“ I cannot help noticing (though it is against my argument as far as it goes), that James, in one particular instance, shewed more coolness than could have been expected from the character of timidity. When Ramsay cast the King’s hawk from his hand, and began to lay about him, James had the composure to put his foot on the hawk’s leash, to prevent her making her escape. Unless we suppose this was done instinctively, we shall have a new view of James’s character—for the man could not surely be so very timid who could think about the escape of a kite, while they were struggling for his life or liberty close at his elbow.”

“ A word is used, the meaning of which is obvious, but the etymology is unknown to me. The King cried to Ramsay to strike laigh, for that Ruthven had on a *pyne* doublet. Secret armour of course is meant, but what is *pyne*? In the Catalogue of James III.’s Treasures, mention is made of a pyne box—a strong box or metal chest probably—but what is the derivation?”

“ I see Lord Hailes was puzzled by the expression of Henderson, ‘ that he thought they were going to make breaks for Maconilduy,’ which he was disposed to think meant, that they were about to make breeches for the wild Highlander, a metaphorical expression equivalent to taking Maconilduy into custody. This seems a forced interpretation. I think I could shew the use of the expression ‘ making breaks’ as a hunting phrase equivalent for settling toils for deer, which explains Henderson’s phrase.

“ Excuse these desultory observations. I have not had leisure to look at the historical introduction, which seems to be very curious.

“ I wish every degree of success to an Institution whose labours are so respectable; and, with best thanks for the personal trouble you have taken, I am, with regard,

Your obliged humble Servant,

WALTER SCOTT.”

Edinburgh, 6, Shandwick Place, 27th November.

Addressed, “ D. MORISON, Esq. Secretary to the Antiquarian Society of Perth.”

The Council are persuaded, that any comment on the preceding letter would be superfluous—it must be no less gratifying to the Society generally, than it is to them, and to the Secretary, who contributed to the volume the article referred to by Sir Walter Scott.

The Donations to the Library and to the Museum, while as numerous as on any former occasion, have this year been of additional interest and value.

To the Library the following Books have been contributed :—

The North American Sylva, by Michaux, in 3 large volumes 8vo. with the Plates coloured. From R. Mitchel, Esq. Savannah.

This very splendid and valuable work is now rare, not only in this country, but in America; and the Society are under no small obligations to Mr Mitchel for this costly expression of his attachment to his native city, and good wishes for the prosperity of the Society.

The Book of Esther in Hebrew MS. and Bosquejo de Itatica, 4to. Printed at Seville. From Lieutenant Charles Stewart of the 42d Regiment.

These are not the only contributions the Society have received from this promising young Officer, whose untimely death is so deeply to be deplored.

Histoire des Celtes par Pelloutier, 8 tom. 12mo. From the Library of the late Sir William Drummond of Logiealmond.

Translation in French of the Georgicks of Virgil. Printed at Tours in 1514, in black letter. Presented by George Stewart, Esq. of Murthly.

The Committee cannot omit this opportunity of noticing, that for some years past there has not been a meeting at which they have not had to acknowledge Donations from Mr Stewart.

The Historie and Descent of the House of Rowallane, by Sir William Mure, written in or prior to 1657. Presented by Mr Muir of Dysart.

An Old MS. Historie of the Church (Catholick) in folio. From Mr Peter Buchan, Peterhead.

This the Donor supposes to have been written by one of the Earls Marishall of Scotland, and left by one of the last of that name in the hands of his Chaplain when he fled to France for the preservation of his life.

The Annals of Peterhead, and the Secret History of Macbeth. From the same Gentleman.

An Account of the Abipones, an Equestrian People of Paraguay. From the Latin of Martin Dobrizhoffer, 3 vols. 8vo. From Mr Morison, jun. the Secretary.

A Gaelic and English Vocabulary, by Alex. M'Donald. Presented by Mr James M'Laren, of the Perth Bank.

Tracts relative to the Darien Expedition. From the same Gentleman.

This is a very scarce volume. The Society are already in possession of some Tracts on this interesting subject. The present Donation will render their Collection very complete.

Gladwin's Persian Moonshee, a fine copy in quarto.

Letters from the Caucasus and Georgia, translated from the German, 8vo. Presented by E. W. A. Drummond Hay, Esq.

Vol. II. Part 1st, of the Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle upon Tyne. From the Society.

The Life of Camoens, 2 vols. 8vo. Presented by the Author, John Adamson, Esq. Secretary to the Literary Philosophical and Antiquarian Society of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Vol. II. Part 2d, and Vol. III. Part 1st, of the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. From the Society.

Engraved Copy of the Seals and Signatures to the Act of Union. From Mr M'Donald, Curator of the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

An Entire Burmese Book, consisting of the Leaves of a Plant strung together. Presented by Dr John Ogilvie.

Transactions of the Royal Northern Society of Antiquaries at Copenhagen for 1825, 1826, and 1827, accompanied by a Letter from Dr Rafn, the Secretary, by whom the work is presented.

Full Extract of Record of Justiciary—Trial of George Sprot, Notary in Eymouth, 12th August 1608, for *airt and pairt* of the Earl of Gowrie's Conspiracy in 1600. Copied by Mr Macgregor Stirling, by whom it is presented to the Society. It was accompanied by a Letter from Mr Stirling, in which he takes a different view of the transactions in Gowrie House from that which he formerly sent to the Society, now agreeing with that given in the article referred to in Sir Walter Scott's Letter.

The Chronicle of Holyrood, 4to. Printed by R. Pitcairn, Esq. as his contribution to the Bannatyne Club. Presented by Mr Pitcairn.

Etymons of English words, 4to. by the late John Thomson, Esq. Private Secretary to the Marquis of Hastings. Presented by his son-in-law, Mr Drummond Hay, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The Catalogue of the Library at Kinfauns Castle, in folio, by Mr Morison, jun. Illuminated in the style of Albert Durer's Prayer Book. Presented by the Right Hon. Lord Gray.

This unique work was printed from a small Press at Kinfauns Castle, and the Illustrations and Illuminations, which are Lithographed, were done by Mr Morison with *one pen*. Only 12 copies were printed. It is accompanied by a prefatory Poem, and various literary and bibliographical Notes. In this copy is inserted a letter from Sir Walter Scott to Lord Gray relative to it.

Among the Donations of Antiquities and Miscellaneous Curiosities, the Council have, in the first place, to notice several very important additions, from their constant friend and valuable contributor Dr John Ogilvie, to whom the Society has on former occasions been so deeply indebted. These chiefly consist of,—

Two very large Burmese Idols, and various smaller ones, some of them very curious, several of the small ones being hollow, and containing Scraps of Linen or Paper with Verses, it is supposed of their Sacred Books, printed and written on them.

A Scimitar taken at the Battle of Navarin, inlaid with Ornaments and Inscriptions.

A Burmese Steel-Yard.

A Burmese Sword.

A Burmese Saddle Cloth. It is made of the Skin of an Animal upon a cloth ornamented with Gold Lace.

Several Bows, Arrows, and Javelins of various Nations.

The Pinnacle of the chief Temple of Rangoon.

Bells from the Burmese Pagodas, with a piece of Metal in the form of a Leaf attached to the Tongue, which are put in motion by the wind.

Another valuable Contributor has appeared this year in Dr Andrew Ross, now in India, son of Mr John Ross, jun. Perth. That Gentleman has sent to the Society a variety of Antiquities and other Curiosities from Chinese Tartary, a country from which few relics have hitherto been sent to Britain. Among them are,—

Three Caps worn by the Priests in Chinese Tartary.

Two Trumpets used by the Priests in the Temples, and a Reel, which is rattled at the Prayers, &c. in the same manner as the Bells of the Roman Catholics.

Four Idols cast in Brass, a small one in Gold, and a number in Stucco and Lead, with a Mould for fashioning the latter.

Three Cases for small Idols.

A Wooden Figure or Mummy.

A pair of Shoes, and a pair of Ornaments for the Wrist of a Child.

Two Tobacco Pipes.

A Tobacco Pouch.

A Scribe's Pouch and Steel.

An Amulet, and two Sets of Beads.

A Horoscope, (or a Treatise on Astrology), written or rather printed on a long linen roll.

Although this is designated in the list a Horoscope, there is reason to believe that it is a subject of a more general nature ; being struck from blocks (probably of wood,) and from which there had therefore been in all probability a number of copies struck.

Mr John Ross, jun. has also given to the Museum a Match-Lock elegantly mounted with Silver, sent from India by Captain Herring, H. E. I. C. S. taken from a superior Officer at the Siege of Bhurtpore in 1826.

A very handsome Donation has been received from General Stewart, viz. a Kookuree or Goorkee Dagger, splendidly mounted with Silver, and bearing a marked similarity to the Highland Dirk. This was sent from India to the General by the Hon. Mr Shore, son of Lord Teignmouth, who accompanied it by a letter illustrative of the customs of that part of the country.

Besides this, there are other Donations from General Stewart, which will be afterwards noticed. The Council have the pleasure of conveying to the Society, along with these presents, the best wishes of General Stewart, with assurances from him, that while abroad he shall not forget the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth ; but take every opportunity of collecting what he thinks may prove acceptable to them.

Mr Francis Robertson has presented two curious specimens of Foreign Sculpture, the Model of a Chinese Lady's *Foot*, and a Paddle from the South Sea Islands.

A Piece of Cloth made of the Bark of a Tree, from Captain James Ross.

A Pair of Indian Shoes and a Purse, from Mr William Arnott.

A small Chinese Gong, and a Chinese Mariner's Compass of beautiful workmanship. Presented by Miss Craigie of Glendoick.

To this Lady the Society have on frequent occasions been indebted for valuable acquisitions to their Collection.

An old Charter connected with the Hospital and St Leonard's Lands in Perth. From Mr Rogers, Dundee.

An old Key, from its size and ancient form, supposed to be that of the Grey Friars Monastery. Found in the Grey Friars Burying Ground.

Several Iron Implements found in a quarry on the Murthly Estate, which had not been opened or in use since the building of the Cathedral at Dunkeld. Presented by Dr Stewart of Bonskeid.

Ticket of Admission to the Trial of Warren Hastings. From George Stewart, Esq. of Murthly.

An Italian Silver Coin of 12 Cents, having the Bust of Buonaparte, with several other Foreign Copper Coins from George Stewart, Esq.

A Brass Coin of Carausius the Roman Emperor in Britain.

A Scottish Billon Coin, a Silver Penny of Edward struck at Waterford, and a Flanders Silver Penny of the same age, found in the Churchyard of Kinross. From Mr Thomas Gilroy, Kinross.

An Impression of the Seal of the Revolution Club in Perth.

An Impression (destroyed in the carriage) of the Custom House Seal of the Burghs of Inverness and Cromarty. This Seal was found on the Sea Shore by a Fisherman, and given to Professor

Stewart of Inchbreck. From George Anderson, Esq. Secretary to the Northern Institution, Inverness.

An American Cent and a Russian Copper Coin, from Mr James Spence.

While this part of the Report was in preparation, some very interesting additions were received from Colonel Balmain, from whom the Society have at former Meetings received several valuable Donations. The specimens of Natural History from Colonel Balmain will be noticed afterwards. Among the curiosities presented by him, are,—

A Female Burmese Dress, No. 1.

A Male do. do. No. 2.

A Male Karrian Dress, No. 3.

A Model of a Burmese War Boat.

Three Burmese Swords.

A Nair Knife.

And six Burmese Coins, current at Touay.

The Lord's Prayer, Creed, &c. &c. Written and Lithographed within the space of a Shilling. Presented by Mr George Dalgleish.

The Head of a Roman Battle Axe, from Mr John Graham of Hall Rome, near Craigmakerran.

A Silver Eastern Coin, with very ancient Characters, from Dr John Ogilvie.

The Model of a Chinese Lady's Foot, with the Shoe, from Captain James Ross.

A Turkish Musket, taken at the Battle of Navarin. From Lieut. J. C. Johnstone, R. N.

A Danish Silver Coin of 1688, found in a Field near Blairgowrie. From Thomas Barty, Esq.

The Specimens of Natural History and Mineralogy have as usual been numerous.

The first in interest and rarity is, a very fine Caper-Cailzie, or Cock of the Wood, from Norway. Presented by General Stewart of Garth.

A Beautiful Horn, and various preserved Specimens of Snakes and other Reptiles, from the same Gentleman.

The Nautilus, with its *Sails* and Shell, from J. S. Hore, Esq. London.

This specimen, of singular rarity on account of the preservation of the fish itself, was sent from London by the coach, and every expense of its transmission paid by Mr Hore. It fortunately arrived quite entire. The Society are already in possession of the shells of this singular animal; but such specimens as that so handsomely presented to the Society, are very seldom to be met with.

Two Heads of the Toucan, from Colonel Balmain.

One do. of the Spoon Bill, from do.

Three Nests of the Tailor Bird, from do.

Two Tusks of a Female Elephant; from do.

Two do. and three Horns of the Rhinoceros, from do.

- Two Antelope's Horns, from Colonel Balmain.
 A Kite or Scotch Fish-tailed Gled, from Mr James Chalmers, Murthly.
 Another Specimen of the Albatros, of which one was received two years since, from Dr John Ogilvie ;
 also a young one of the same species.
 A Specimen of the Starling, from Miss Sandeman.
 East India Nightingale, from Dr John Ogilvie.
 The Booby, from do.
 The Bearded Fish, from do.
 A Specimen of the Scorpion, and of the Queen Ant, from Colonel Balmain.

A very extensive and valuable addition has been made to the Cabinet of Shells by Dr John Ogilvie, to whom the Society is indebted for nearly the whole of their Collection, and under whose direction they were classified and arranged.

Several very interesting Organic Remains have been collected at various times in the Carse of Gowrie. Specimens of these have been presented by Mr Murray Thriepland of Fingask, from Charles Spence, Mason at Raitt, by whom they were found.

- No. 1. is a Petrified *Fish*, found in Clashbennie Quarry. The head and tail have been broken off, but the body is very entire, and shows at some parts the scales, and at others *flakes* and bones, very distinctly.
 No. 2. from the same Quarry, contains the Branches of a Bush or Tree in very distinct ramifications.
 No. 3. contains small Specimens from Quarries at Raitt, shewing beautiful ramifications of the Lichen, or some other Plant, upon a greenish smooth Stone.
 A curious Specimen of Bark, found in Loch Rannoch. Presented by Thomas Dumbreck, Esq.

This formation is exactly in the shape of a horse's hoof; so much so, as to have led the person who found it to suppose it one lignified by immersion for a long period in the Loch. It is a substance which grows on the birch tree often in a form somewhat similar, but seldom so exact in all its parts to the shape of a horse's hoof,—and is used by the people in that part of the country as tinder and as firewood.

- A Petrified Shell Fish, found in a Lime Rock at Devonshaw,—very perfect. Presented by William Gloag, Esq., from Capt. Patton of Devonshaw.
 A Mineralogical Specimen, from the Peak of Teneriffe.
 A Piece of Native Gold, from Dr John Ogilvie.
 A Large Specimen of Asbestos, found on Drummond Hill at Taymouth, from Mr John Frazer.

The Council cannot close this very extended list of Donations without congratulating the Society on the gratifying indication it affords of the interest which is taken in the success of the Institution among all ranks.

The liberality of the Society, in giving access at all times to their Repositories, has been met with a liberality on the part of their friends, which is yearly increasing as the Society becomes more generally known, and which ought certainly to stimulate the Members to a zealous and hearty prosecution of the objects for which they are associated.

The Council would ill discharge the duty they owe to the Members, were they not, in recording these proofs of the prosperity of the Institution, also to lay before them the inability of the Society to proceed upon the principles which have hitherto been so well sanctioned, in the present depressed state of the funds; or to sustain the place to which they are proud to think they have attained among the Literary Institutions of the country, with means so inadequate as are afforded by the present income. Under the judicious and economical management of Mr Gloag, the Treasurer, a gradual reduction has been effected on the debt of the Society; but with the present income, many years must elapse ere the debt can be cancelled, far less any sum laid out in furthering the objects of the Institution, or even in preserving the specimens committed to their care.

From the Treasurer's books, it appears, that at the last Anniversary Meeting the debt of the Society was £178, and that it is at present £168, which, when the surplus balance on the publication of the Transactions is paid over, will be reduced to about £150.

The Society cannot but feel, along with the Council, that so small a sum as this ought not to remain as a clog on the operations of an Association combining so large a proportion of the wealth of the County of Perth; and the Council trust that the Meeting will be unanimous in recommending a subscription among all the Members, adequate not only to a speedy liquidation of the debt, but by the publication in regular series of the proceedings from the general funds (without having to call from time to time for a specific subscription for that purpose;) and by additions to the accommodation of the Museum, to maintain the respectability and increase the usefulness of the Institution.

The Council have the more confidence in recommending this course to the Meeting and to the Society, after such letters as have been this day read, and such Donations as have been now presented. Were any encouragement beyond these requisite, they might refer to a late publication

of Mr Markland at London, who holds up the example of the Society at Perth as one worthy of the imitation of the Society of Antiquaries at London. With such incentives the Council anticipate renewed zeal and activity in the operations of the Society.

But they are well aware that the spirit which they would wish to see animating the Institution, will not be attained merely by an augmentation of the funds; nothing would contribute so much to it as more frequent Meetings of the Society. The great obstacle to this has hitherto been, not merely the trouble of sending notices to the Members, now so numerous, living at a distance, but a reluctance to incur that expense, unless there were some matters occurring which could not be delayed until the Anniversary Meeting. These objections would be at once removed, by fixing days when the Meetings are to be held, without it being requisite to send notice of them to every Member. In this respect they would act on the same principles as the Metropolitan Societies. Thus it might be arranged, and generally intimated to the Members, that on the last Monday of every month, the Hall would be open at 12 o'clock, when some of the Office-Bearers would be present, and such of the Members generally as could make it convenient would be expected to attend; when such Gentlemen as had Donations to present, friends to propose as Members, Essays to read or questions to discuss, would have opportunity afforded them. Such Meetings would not only conduce to the more regular discharge of the business, but tend to keep alive the interest of the Members in the proceedings, and render the Association as an Antiquarian one, particularly useful, by investigating subjects of enquiry which are daily presenting themselves in the now classic ground around, and justifying the good name which the author of Waverley has given to the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth.

At the Anniversary Meeting held on the 24th November 1828,

THE RIGHT HON. LORD GRAY IN THE CHAIR,—

the preceding Report was read, unanimously approved of, and ordered to be printed and circulated, accompanied by an urgent recommendation to

the Members of the Society to concur in carrying into effect the suggestions of the Council of Management.

At the same Meeting the following were elected Ordinary and Constituent Members :—

WILLIAM TROTTER, Esq. of Ballindean.
 Captain ROBERT KNOX TROTTER, younger of Ballindean.
 Dr HENDERSON, Perth.
 W. GLEN JOHNSTON, Esq.
 JAMES MORISON, Esq. Accountant.
 WILLIAM BLAIR, Jun. Esq.
 Mons. P. D'AYMAR.
 Colonel BALMAIN.

Also the following Corresponding and Honorary Members :—

Dr RAFN, Secretary to the Royal Northern Institution, Copenhagen.
 Dr ANDREW ROSS, Calcutta.
 JOHN ADAMSON, Esq. Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle upon Tyne.
 Lieut. JOHNSTON, R. N.
 ROBERT MITCHEL, Esq. Savannah.

The Office-bearers were re-elected, and Mons. P. D'AYMAR appointed Foreign Secretary to the Society.

The thanks of the Meeting were unanimously voted to the Donors, from whom contributions had been received.

Dr ANDERSON read an Essay on the Temperature of the Ocean, as it served to illustrate various important physical facts.

Mr MORISON, Jun. read a paper relative to some Traditions connected with the History of Perth.